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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-043

### CONTENTS

30 SEPTEMBER 1988

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Soviet, Western Democratic Practices Compared [A. Yefremov; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 25 Jun 88]	1
Ukrainian Paper Interviews Alexander Bovin on Foreign, Nationalities Policies [V. Portnykov; MOLOD UKRAYINY, 23 Jun 88]	3
'Estonian Independent Youth Forum' Makes Reform Proposals	7
Komsomol Leader Criticizes Meeting [Yu. Veldre; MOLODEZH ESTONII, 8 Jun 88]	7
Proposals Addressed to ESSR Supreme Soviet [E. Veskimiya; MOLODEZH ESTONII, 18 Jun 88]	9
Estonian Komsomol Plenum Addresses Republic Party, State Bodies [MOLODEZH ESTONII, 17 Jun 88]	12
Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Rural Development [BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 21 Jun 88]	15
Kazakh Plenum on Nationalism, Internationalism	18
Kolbin Address [G. V. Kolbin; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 5 Jun 88]	18
Plenum Discussion [KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 7 Jun 88]	36
Discussion Continues [KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 8 Jun 88]	48
Plenum Resolution [KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 9 Jun 88]	61
Kirghiz Second Secretary Kiselev on Cadre Issues [G.N. Kiselev; SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 7 Jun 88]	65
Uzbek Supreme Soviet Details Republic Government Reorganization [P. Khabibullayev, L. Bekkulbekova; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 28 Jul 88]	69
Official Outlines Composition of Moldavian Party Cadres [SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 6 Jul 88]	71
Promoting 'Regional Khozraschet' in Moldavia Urged [A. Budyanu, A. Gudym; SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 18 Jun 88]	73

#### MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

Main Themes of Soviet Journalists' Conference Summarized [G. Lazutina, N. Mironenko, L. Svitich; ZHURNALIST No 5, May 88]	77
Journalists on Efforts to Propagate Glasnost in Regional Press [I. Orlov, V. Shemyakin; ZHURNALIST No 5, May 88]	80
Journalist Reviews Moldavian Press Treatment of Ecological Issues [A. Brodskiy; ZHURNALIST No 6, Jun 88]	85

#### HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

Historian Reviews Effects of Repressions in Moldavia in 1937-38 [N. Movilyanu; SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 8 May 88]	91
Historian Cites Belorussian Shortcomings in Historiography [V. Mikhnyuk; KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII No 5, May 88]	96

#### CULTURE

Prominent Writers Voice Views As Conference Delegates [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 22 Jun 88]	101
Mikhaylov Views Reform in Creative Unions [A. Mikhaylov; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 25 Jun 88]	106
Repression of Theater Director Meyerhold Recalled [K. Rudnitskiy; OGONEK No 22, 28 May-4 Jun 88]	110
Stalinist Repressions of Georgian Cultural Figures Detailed [G. Margvelashvili; ZARYA VOSTOKA, 12 Jun 88]	119
Aytmatov Rebuts Defenders of Stalin [Ch. Aytmatov; SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 6 May 88]	120
Director of Film on Released Political Prisoners Interviewed [I. Semin, V. Zadera; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 30 Jun 88]	124

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Addresses Cultural Monument Neglect	[PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 26 May 88]	128
Lakshin Writes Introduction to Zamyatin's 'We'	[V. Lakshin; ZNAMYA No 4, Apr 88]	130

## SOCIAL ISSUES

USSR Health Minister Chazov on Perestroyka in Public Health Service		
[Z. Yeroshok, S. Leskov; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 18 Jun 88]		134
Conditions in Homes for Elderly Deplored	[A. Nevskiy; OGONEK No 27, 2-9 Jul 88]	137
Aid to Families with Several Children Inadequate	[S. Sidorova; OGONEK No 26, 25 Jun-2 Jul 88]	140
Persistence of Sexist Attitudes, Sexual Inequality Attacked		
[L. Artamonova; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 18 Jun 88]		143
Letter from Inmate Scores Labor-Treatment Facility	[SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 18 Jun 88]	145
Use of National Languages in Criminal Proceedings Reviewed		
[M. Ashirbekova; SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA No 11, Jun 88]		146
Teacher Urges Use of Russian Language in Multiethnic Kirghizia		
[V. Shelike; IZVESTIYA, 16 Jun 88]		148
Moscow Telephone Survey of Nationality Inequities		
[L. Babayeva, Ye. Nazarchuk; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 23, 4-10 Jun 88]		151
Importance of Russian Language to Uzbek Youth Reemphasized		
[G. Rakhmatullaeva; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN No 6, Jun 88]		153
Moldavian SSR Minister of Education Facilitates Native Language Study		
[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 7 Jul 88]		156
View of Women's Role in Workforce Needs Revision		
[N. Kungurova; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, JUN 88]		157
Disgraced Uzbek Officials Await Trial for Bribery		
[G. Ovcharenko, A. Chernenko; PRAVDA, 17 Jul 88]		159
Man Falsely Accused of Bribery Demands Publication of Acquittal		
[Yu. Nikolayev; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 19 Jul 88]		162
Philosopher Suggests Official Approach to Unofficial Groups		
[A. Momdzhyan; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 9 Jul 88]		165
MVD Official Interviewed on Current Correctional Labor System		
[A. Illesha; NEDELIA No 27, 4-10 Jul 88]		166
Procurator on Environmental Legal Issues in Georgia		
[O. Oleynik; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST No 6, Jun 88]		169
USSR Procurator General on Legal Aspects of Environmental Issues		
[V. Starchevskiy; NEDELIA No 29, 18-24 Jul 88]		174

## REGIONAL ISSUES

Armenian Activists Interviewed on Visit with Estonian Popular Front		
[P. Raydla; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 29 Jul 88]		179
Armenian Internal Affairs Minister on New Regulations For Demonstrations		
[Armenpress; KOMMUNIST, 2 Aug 88]		179
Work of 'Progressive' Armenian Groups in France Praised		
[N. Mkrtchyan; PO LENINSKOMU PUTI No 5, May 1988]		181
Azeri Official Answers Questions on Armenian Supreme Soviet NKAO Decision		
[MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA, 18 Jun 88]		186
Readers' Comments on NKAO Events	[MOLODEZH AZERBAYZHANA, 28 Jun 88]	187
More Discussion Urged on Reasons Behind NKAO Problems		
[I. Ismailzade; MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA, 7 Jul 88]		188
Estonian 'Popular Front' Clarifies Program	[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 9 Jul 88]	189
LaSSR Assesses Writers' Union Plenum, Economic Issues	[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 23 Jun 88]	190
Reasoned Approach to Latvian-Russian Ethnic Conflicts Proposed		
[I. Geyman; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 26 Jun 88]		192
Improved Ties with Latvian Emigres Sought	[D. Zelmenis; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 23 Jul 88]	194
Debate on Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, State Language, Flag Continues		196
Report on Writer Martinkus' Meeting With Vilnius Workers		
[A. Gelbakh; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 17 Jul 88]		196
Martinkus Objects to Report's Distortion of His Statements		
[V. Martinkus; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 23 Jul 88]		198
Editorial Reply to Objections	[SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 23 Jul 88]	199

Vilnius Gorispolkom Explains Denial of Permission for 1920 Pact Public Meeting [SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 16 Jul 88] .....	200
Lithuanian Group To Promote Karaim Culture Formed [G. Kobetskayte; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 16 Jul 88] .....	201
Broadening Power of Local Soviets in Leningrad Discussed [G. Filatov, O. Dmitriyeva; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, 28 Jul 88] .....	201



**Soviet, Western Democratic Practices Compared**  
18000483 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in  
Russian 25 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Yefremov: "Study, No Matter Where You Go" or, "An Experience in Comparative Democracy"]

[Text] "The appeal to 'study democracy!' appears more and more often in our press. There is even a newspaper rubric to that effect. The question naturally arises: But from whom should we learn? Should we really learn from the so-called 'free world'? It is well-known that certain people in the West interpret our self-criticism, our glasnost, and our acknowledgment of the need for a process of democracy in precisely this manner. But what will come of this? Will we move further 'with the sun'?"

This is the kind of letter reader V. Afonin sent me from the city of Astrakhan. It's a sarcastic letter. The question marks in it are ironic to say the very least.

The letter was sent before the nationwide discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference had begun, and prior to the visit of the US President to Moscow. These two events once again emphasized the timely nature of the subjects touched upon in the letter. And in fact, when we say, "More democracy!", what measures do we possess, and what criteria can we use to measure the degree of democracy achieved?

Here is Vladimir Posner, acquainting us with charming objectivity with the audience in the city of Seattle. We see very likable people, direct and interested. Their feeling of self-esteem, their poise and their lack of conceit are attractive. But of course, there are no homeless and no unemployed people among them, nor any other aggrieved and offended people. But on the other hand, none of the participants deny the existence of these social malignancies in the USA either.

Here the long life of one of the big-shots of American business, a multimillionaire, passes before us. Does the image of a Gaydaresque bourgeoisie come to life for us? Not by a long shot! What emerges is an image of an extremely engaging, well-meaning business partner, a true friend. Well of course, he is a Maecenas too.

Is the screen deceiving us? Or did it deceive us before, by painting life abroad chiefly in dark tones? Our inner voice tells us that there is no deception. Both pictures are real, but it is not easy to combine them. We are not used to doing so.

Well that's just fine, what's on the screen. One's personal impressions are quickly multiplied when one spends time abroad. This topic is widely represented in our mail from the readers. The conclusions are not comforting. One is reminded of Vladimir Mayakovsky: "The Soviets have their own pride; they look down their noses at

the bourgeois." Down their noses? Seldom. More often than not they develop a poor self-image, and feel like second-class people. It's not their Soviet passport that is second-class—it is the passport of a world power—but the Soviet ruble. It is the trifling amount of ready cash and the abundance of hard-to-get consumer goods that attracts "our man over there" to a regime with a most ruthless and demeaning economy.

And it is not difficult to predict that until the ruble acquires the status of convertible currency, the situation will very likely not change much at all. Would we all not like to have more respect for our national prestige, and respect for one's rank as an "ambassador of socialism"? Of course, when the Berezka Ensemble storms the bargain goods counters, it cannot go unnoticed; the moreso that the soloists dictate the fashion for Moscow after their tours. Not long ago in OGONEK, Vladimir Tsvetov cited a long list, to which one could add the voluntary intellectual starvation of certain associates in very prestigious branches of government.

And incidentally, with respect to the latter there is also an instructive example for comparison here. Our citizens are somewhat dumbfounded when they encounter the politeness in everyday life abroad. There is none of the slavishness before the bosses, nor is there noticeable intoxication with their own power. The bureaucratic hierarchy undoubtedly exists, and especially in such countries as Great Britain and Japan. But its yoke appears at the very least unobtrusive, and one's inequality is carefully wrapped in the cellophane of democratic etiquette.

I don't know if we need to train our civil servants in all the niceties of pleasant tones. But until the servile syndrome of a Molchalin is removed from our public consciousness and feelings of personal worth and personal authority are inculcated in the individual, democracy will remain a cliché.

Direct contrasts. No, not of the way of life; more on that later. But contrasting the style of behavior provides a basis for not rejecting out of hand the study of "foreign experience."

But can every experience, every contrast with our own, even the negative things, prove useful to us? After all, "bourgeois" and "socialist" are not simply adjectives modifying the word "democracy." The difference should be a principal one. Therefore it is especially important to understand when, where and why the paths of socialist and democratic construction have diverged. The transformation of socialist popular rule into a hierarchical system did not take place without distortion of the essence of democratic centralism. Too much stress was given to the second word. The principle of subordination from top to bottom, along with emasculation of the very

idea of democracy, was inevitable; they almost automatically lead to the establishment of a command-bureaucracy style of government and finally to the usurpation of power at the very top. Such is the logic of degeneration, which has taken place not only in our own country.

It is paradoxical that with all of its severity, such a system does not only rule out—it multiplies arbitrary rule. We were fated to experience two kinds of arbitrary rule: Stalin's—the arbitrary rule of terror, wherein even those close to supreme power were not protected from the ruthless wrath of the monarch; and the stagnation—the arbitrary rule of corruption, when the stability of the ladder to exalted rank was maintained by a vicious circle of official criminals. One forms the impression that Brezhnev was "persuaded" to proclaim his own innocence, in order to assure the impunity of those at the lower echelons.

Of course there is no doubt that the majority of the population of capitalistic countries are working people. But then why do they subordinate themselves with such amazing persistence to a financial oligarchy? The traditional explanation of this paradox is well-known: the people have simply been deceived, their ignorance has been exploited; they "hung their noodles on their ears." But then we see these "simple people of the West" up close, and amidst smiles and embraces we notice that they are not such dunderheads or so downtrodden, and that they truly believe that their way of life is completely in accord with the principles of democracy. We are also comfortable in our belief that when the US President comes to the capital of a socialist state with the hope of making a profit in selling "capitalism with the human factor foremost," the absurdity of this way of life would be debunked by those imprisoned on Indian reservations, or by the homeless people of New York, but not by the average American. Such observations once again leave us to confront the paradox of the contemporary West. There is the ever-growing list of severe crimes of imperialism in the international arena and gross violations of human rights in their own country. And right along side, there exists the example of the kind little genial American: the simple man of the West, who loves peace, his family, and God. These images do not mix; they do not sink into our consciousness. And then a seditious thought arises. Is the majority always right? Is social justice always on the side of the majority? Simple human truth? Are the laws of mathematics absolute in affirming democratic principles?

Let us examine two historic examples. It is well-known that Hitler came to power as a result of victory at the polls; that is, in an altogether democratic manner. And later on, with the help of chauvinistic propaganda, he managed to win over the majority of the populace in the Third Reich to his side. And democracy was overturned by ordinary Fascism.

And now a completely opposite example. Certain people taking part in the present discussion of whether Stalinism was historically inevitable are convinced that had

Lenin lived another eight or ten years, the fate of our country and socialism would have turned out much happier. I am inclined to agree with such an estimate, with all of its lack of proofs and its formal "cultishness." In the ravaged and poorly-educated Russia of that day, a genuine democratic process could not yet develop naturally from below (And of course there was no experience in even bourgeois democracy); therefore, a political dictatorship was necessary, rooted in the proletarian minority. But with one indispensable condition—those carrying out this dictatorship had to be people of exceptional honesty in their interpretation of the interests of the entire people.

In his essay, "Being Accustomed", Yevgeniy Yevtushenko provides the following definition of democracy: "A society is democratic in the fullest sense only when the entire society—from bottom to top—considers itself to be the government, and not those at the top..." The thought is moving in the right direction, but in my opinion the poet chose the wrong word. "Considers itself" is not enough for true democracy, for a proper state. The illusion of self-rule was undoubtedly widespread among the people (those who were not repressed) in Stalin's time. And this idea prevails with the very same determination in the minds of the simple people of the West; they are the citizens; they are the "quiet majority;" they are the ordinary voters; they are the petit bourgeois masses.

We have gotten used to contrasting political views. It became a habit to focus attention on the social poles of the capitalist West. The princes and the paupers; the palaces and the slums; the elite and the bums: two to three percent of the top, and 10-15 percent from the bottom. And in the middle? Nearly 80 percent. You must admit, that's quite a lot.

The attractive feature of the American, or the French or Japanese middle class is its respect for any kind of labor. The working man, even if he is a sewage disposal worker by profession, is always respected. A strange antithesis of this noble principle is their respect for large amounts of money, no matter how it is obtained. And finally, a third portrait—an instinctive aversion to the unfortunate. The struggle of national and social minorities for their rights is widely perceived in the "middle class" as an encroachment on its position in society, which belongs to it "by rights."

But then who possesses political power in the West? Monopolistic capital, known also as the "ruling hierarchy," or the petit bourgeois? The answer is indisputable. The power belongs to capital: very big capital; but it wields this power with the consent of lesser and lesser capital, down to the very least—but capital nonetheless. The victims of this stable compromise are not only the social dregs of the capitalist countries themselves, but entire nations in the developing world in which monopolies derive the greater share of their profits, and support reactionary and dictatorial regimes for that purpose.

We shall cite some examples. Western civilization has a considerable amount of accumulated experience in the organization of the democratic process. It is rather effective in smaller countries where there are no crying social contrasts (in Iceland, for example), at the municipal level where communists are quite often elected mayor, and in everyday life, where the dignity of the individual is considered. The middle classes, which comprise the backbone of the population of developing countries, have achieved a certain amount of material sufficiency; however, all of this positive experience fails to take into account the total inability of the bourgeois strata to guarantee total equality and fraternity, both for its citizens and within the framework of the capitalist economic system to which it belongs, in spite of the independent political orientation of the "third world" states.

Such "democracy," it goes without saying, has nothing whatever in common with the socialist ideal.

The pseudo-democratic periods of the personality cult and the stagnation are fundamentally alien to socialism. The democratic nature of Soviet Power has been placed under suspicion. But no matter what kind of barriers of arbitrariness were erected by bureaucratism, the vital and natural attraction of the people to justice breaks down the artificial barriers of dogmatism. The first three years of perestroika have already provided a multitude of examples of the democratization of our entire society.

Our openness is a hundred times more democratic than that of the bourgeois, which, with all its sensationalism and exposes is incapable of opening the people's eyes to the secret mechanism of power of the ruling elite.

Our newly-established collective elections, which have taken on the aspect of contests, are now a hundred times more democratic than bourgeois elections, where the name of a candidate is determined in secret, and often in direct ratio to the amount of capital he has.

Juridical reform, re-examination of the methods of political leadership, and the ultimate destruction of the bureaucratic apparatus lie ahead for the process of democratization. It is a task of unbelievable complexity, which is difficult even to approach. How to establish a regulator for wholesale and retail prices? Where to find objective criteria for justly determining "according to one's labor," and "according to one's needs"?

There are no ready answers. One must learn on the basis of one's own experience and one's socialist instincts. It's hard. But such is the lot of the pioneer—a title which we have managed to restore.

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### **Ukrainian Paper Interviews Alexander Bovin on Foreign, Nationalities Policies**

*18110062 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian  
23 Jun 88 p 1*

[Interview with Alexander Bovin, political analyst for the newspaper IZVESTIYA, by Vitaliy Portnykov, special correspondent for MOLOD UKRAYINY; Moscow: date not specified. Article heading: "Third Attempt" under the rubric "Autograph for the Reader"]

[Text] On our streets, we normally have no problem recognizing famous actors, soccer players who have won the latest series of cup matches, or T.V. celebrities from the program "Rankovoyi Poshty"; and we might even be able to spot a well-known writer... Amazing! But I wonder how many people could say they know the name of an international journalist, who, for all practical purposes, has not escaped the attention of public television either? No matter what you say, we tend to regard the people in this profession as individuals who live in their own private world, who are accustomed to having interviews with foreign presidents, and who write about the evils of poverty from some luxurious hotel room... The "image" that was being projected onto the field of international journalism for the past 10 years greatly affected us, especially the time when the television camera operator suddenly aimed his camera at something white and the commentator said that it was "black"; and we believed it... Or when we turned our radios on, we would listen to them say that white is white; however, red was interpreted as black.

For some reason, Alexander Yevgenyevich Bovin never fit this "image"; well, that's because he would never substitute colors: white is white, black is black; nor did the phrase "let's talk about this another time" ever fit his image.

After our conversation, I realized this was no mere "image," but a genuine attitude toward life, which makes things more meaningful and more convincing to our readers and T.V. viewers. Indeed, we weren't the only ones surprised; people in the Western world where Bovin is considered the "grey cardinal" of Soviet international journalism, were just as much affected. However, as some of the darkness surrounding our lives begins to fade opening up the most inaccessible territories, (to use a mountaineering term) Sovietologists are awaiting the moment of disillusionment: it is possible though that honesty could reveal itself to be genuine honesty, and nothing else.

[Question] I'd like to begin our conversation with a question regarding the present status of international journalism.

It's been said there are way too many stereotypes, which makes it difficult for the reader to know what's actually going on.

[Answer] Unfortunately, there is a lot of that right now. The thing that's happening today, first of all, is tied in with the way we present our material: discussions are opening up; our opponents are getting a chance to speak; and telebridges are being organized. But as to content, progress has still been minimal. There were lots of "blank spots" that I have frequently spoken of and written about, for instance, socialist countries and Third World countries on good terms with us such as Libya, Syria, Angola, Mozambique, and others are in this zone of silence. What are some of the complexities of life facing the people in these countries? How do they handle difficult situations? And how are they developing? Today, we can only hint at the answers to these questions. In the future our readers will be amazed.

We must learn to differentiate and refine our forms of analysis when it comes to making judgments about certain events, even in those branches that it would appear we had long since mastered. Let's take U.S. foreign policy. If we exclude the progress in Soviet-American relations, then U.S. policy is the same as before—fair game for everyone. But it is always necessary to fight? For instance, American ships fired on Iranian platforms in the Persian Gulf, and we immediately started reproaching the U.S. But why? Iran goes ahead and lays mines in international waters—this is downright banditism. An American ship was ripped apart by these mines. What if, let's say, one of our ships is ripped open by an Iranian mine?! Then what are we going to do—thank Iran?

On the whole, and this is pleasant to note, we're getting a little smarter. Today, we're smarter than we were yesterday, and tomorrow we'll be even smarter.

[Question] To what extent does the term "analytical" apply to international journalism?

[Answer] All in all, I think it's more outline than analysis. My goal is to work in the analytical manner because I don't know how to write outlines. Perhaps my articles are a bit dry; they contain very little of my own personal impressions. The thing that I find important is to make an analysis, reveal cause and effect, and point out tendencies. In my opinion, this is the dominant feature in the field of international journalism. Naturally, it's advantageous to travel and observe how people live in other countries; this enriches your experience. For example, I've traveled to Japan and America a number of times. Although you'll not find any of my own personal "impressions" in these articles, I trust you'll not find any nonsense either, which I could have written if I had never been in these countries.

[Question] In your opinion, what are some of the obstacles surrounding the field of international journalism?

[Answer] The things that have dulled people's minds are intellectual stagnation, dogmatism, and toadying. A person who thinks for himself and comes to his own

conclusions has become quite a rarity. Instead, intellectual atrophy and mediocrity have become entrenched. It's quite difficult to overcome this inertia. And although there are a few journalists who have succeeded in doing this such as S. Kondrashov, V. Tsvetov, and V. Ovchinnikov.

[Question] Do you have a favorite country or a special concern?

[Answer] Probably not. Global problems in the area of world politics, international relations—these are the things that interest me as a journalist and a scholar.

[Question] How would you describe the transition from journalist to scholar?

[Answer] For me, it's one and the same. I write an article the way I'd write a dissertation. The analysis is the same but on a smaller scale. I try all the time to do it this way.

[Question] Have you ever had to face any critical situations in your work?

[Answer] It's happened, sure. But I have strong nerves. This was one particular instance when I criticized the revolution in Iran. Khomeini protested and our ambassador relayed the protests to Moscow. The situation got tense, although it didn't come to a head. Here's another case. The military people were offended with what I wrote about the policy of nuclear war. I said it wasn't very smart to continue the policy, because there can be no winners. They even criticized me in the journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHONNYKH SIL. I was asked to go to the Chief Political Administration... And now L'HUMANITE has tried to stop me, especially after the article I wrote expounding my reasons for the communist defeat at the presidential elections. And once again, a number of our comrades started getting nasty.

[Question] I saw the "headlines" of western newspapers; they all reported this conflict.

[Answer] Here's the problem: everyone seems to think that the things I write about, or any other Soviet international journalist writes about, reflects the Kremlin's line. We've gotten used to this and have schooled others to this line of thinking. The diplomats tell us: why speak ill of Khomeini, Mitterand, or Kim Ir Sen. Hence the restrictions. We say: Let's deal with analysis of Soviet government announcements, TASS announcements, newspaper editorials, or articles written by journalists and analysts. Theoretically, everyone agrees with this, but, for all practical purposes, nothing has been done yet.

[Question] If we could turn for a moment to your writings on the French communists, this is rather rare material with regard to the world communist movement; we hardly know anything about this movement.

[Answer] What can we do? Journalists are denied the opportunity to make any kind of objective evaluations regarding the situation on this front.

Today, the world communist movement is undergoing a crisis. Most all of the communist parties, except for rare instances, are no longer an influential national force. The masses aren't with them; they don't have broad social support anymore. Why this is happening must be explained. Interpretive writings have begun to appear in scientific journals, but this includes only a limited circle of readers. The rest of the people listen to "Voice of America"...

[Question] Today, many of our international journalists are starting to turn to internal political themes...

[Answer] For me, it's a thousand times more interesting to know what's going on in our country than what's happening in America. I have a strong desire to write about the complexities and contradictions in our own daily lives. On occasion, I do this. I simply couldn't exist without this—my life, my destiny are here, not in America.

[Question] I couldn't help but notice Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's portrait.

[Answer] I have a lot of respect for this man. He was the first and best teacher I had in terms of political questions: a complex individual, with a contradictory nature, with positive and negative aspects, all of which reached back deep into his roots.

According to the talks we had, Andropov thought about definitive changes and was inclined toward them. Of course, compared with Gorbachev, Yuriy Andropov was from the older generation. It would have been hard for him to free himself from his background and probably his course would have been less radical, and more careful. Let me say again that in principle Andropov could see where we were headed and he understood the need to make some serious changes.

[Question] Today, talks surrounding the problems related to Afghanistan have intensified.

[Answer] Our political and moral obligation is to tell our nation the truth about Afghanistan. The Soviet people have never approved of the war, and the political leadership in our nation has taken the only possible step.

Our troops and our officers honestly fulfilled their military duties and fought the way you would have expected them to fight. But that's a whole other matter.

[Question] Do you think the young men who made it back from Afghanistan are likely to reject current policies?

[Answer] The psychological issue is a rather complex. To adapt oneself to a life of peace, when just a short time ago you were looking death in the face and when all of a sudden you are coming up against what's going on here at home is not a simple process. So our social obligation is to help these young men feel rejected, isolated, and misunderstood...

[Question] Today, many people are talking about Stalin's domestic policy, but hardly anyone knows much about his foreign policy during those years. I mean the roots of our mistakes and miscalculations of that not long ago period still lie buried...

[Answer] In my opinion, foreign policy was afflicted by Stalinism to a lesser extent. Our country was under siege and survival was the game. We fought for peace, for peaceful coexistence.

For example, at times there were intimations that we started a war with Finland in vain, and that we fought pretty badly. I'm sure Hitler took this into account...

[Question] What about the tendency toward half-truths? Let's talk about the non-aggression pact—we keep silent about the amoral friendship with Nazi Germany...

[Answer] The issue here is not the silence. The Treaty of Friendship signed 28 September 1939 was publicized at the time. The question is something else: Let the historians give us the answer...

With regard to the non-aggression pact (23 August 1939), Britain and France in refusing to help us set up a blockade against Hitler actually "pushed" us into signing this treaty. The mistake, as I see it, was not here. We made a mistake when we suddenly started talking about a friendship with Germany, when we compelled the Comintern to scale down the war against fascism, when we began looking at Germany as the "victim"; and England and France—as the "aggressors." We disoriented our society and the world communist movement...

[Question] Let's turn now to current problems. Maybe I'm wrong, but I've observed that younger people seem somewhat skeptical about the changes taking place; they believe less in success than the older generation.

[Answer] The younger generation feels strongly about extensive discussions; it wants every thing decided immediately.

I'm not a perfect optimist either. I've lived through two events when hope was crushed after the 20th CPSU Congress, and after 1965 when economic reform turned to naught. As far as I'm concerned, what's happening today is the 3rd and final attempt. During the war, there was an order No 227—"Never turn back." Those who did were shot. As I see it, this order has been issued today. We can't turn back; it's impossible. Otherwise, we'll become nothing more than a 3rd class provincial

nation; and socialism will be transformed from a science to utopia. And this is why restructuring for me, is a matter of life and death. To the younger generation life is in the future. That's why they fail to see the internal drama of everything going on right now the way I and my generation do. This is why sometimes I've been disappointed with the manner of electing delegates for party conferences. In many places bureaucrats have prevailed over democracy. People have high expectations of the conference. If it follows the same old beaten path as before, the disappointment will be immense.

[Question] I would like to ask you what is your position regarding national problems inside the USSR?

[Answer] The national question is a very delicate and complex issue... As you know, the basis of our national policy hinges on two things; the development nations and their rapprochement. With regard to national development, we can't just sit being embarrassed. The situation with rapprochement, is even more difficult. For various reasons, synchronism was disrupted. Development is tied in with national self-consciousness. This is a natural, inevitable process. Again, without national development, rapprochement will become a fiction. As soon as you include accents and borders, development then begins to "operate" counter to rapprochement.

When I say I'm proud that I'm Russian (or Ukrainian, German, Jewish, etc.)—this is normal. But if I say I'm proud that I'm Russian because the "Russian soul" (or Ukrainian, German, Jewish, etc.) is better than a Chinese, Armenian, or Estonian, this is when national self-consciousness degenerates into nationalism.

Very often nationalism rises up as a reaction against the infringement of national pride, national sentiments. Furthermore, this infringement may be something that is not even perceived. I cite Lenin here. He wrote that you have to make a distinction between the nationalism of a large nation and the nationalism of a small nation. Lenin believed that the actual inequality existing between them should be compensated 10 times more in favor of the interests of the smaller nation.

Let me give you a simple example. A Pole, a Vietnamese, a Bulgarian, a Mongol, a Frenchman and a Czech were on a space flight... but there was no Uzbek, Georgian, Latvian, Armenian or Lithuanian on the flight. Couldn't we have represented all of our republics in this groups of astronauts. Every launch would have positively been a celebration for them. But it didn't happen that way—and it wasn't because someone was against it. It simply didn't come to mind.

The second example is a little more complicated. For a number of years, many Russians have lived in the national republics working as managers but have not bothered to learn any of the national languages. This doesn't make a bit of sense—and it offends people.

I consider myself very fortunate to live in a multinational state. From childhood, I have absorbed fundamentals and characteristics of various cultures. Becoming acquainted with different cultures gives you more of a stereoscopic view of the world and enriches the soul.

But one must know how and must learn how to live in a multi-national country. There's a lot here for all of us to think about. We definitely need glasnost—and open discussions on international problems.

Maybe the schools need to teach a course on the psychology of national integration. I firmly believe that we need to have a department within the CPSU Central Committee devoted strictly to national policies.

[Question] We have selected certain Policy with regard to the fight against bourgeois nationalism, Zionism and so on. Does this policy have the proper form, or to put it another way, is it leading us in the right direction?

[Answer] It seems to me that the term "bourgeois nationalism" has become obsolete if we are to apply it to the present conditions in our country. I know that the invocation "capitalistic holdover" has a calming affect and it makes it convenient for propagandistic explanations. It would make much more sense to look for the roots of nationalism in our own imperfections.

Now then, let's talk about Zionism. As an ideology it encompasses two fundamental elements: first, the demand for a Jewish national state; and secondly, confirmation of the belief that Jews are "God's chosen" people. The fact that Israel was proclaimed a state by a UN resolution is evidence that the world community acknowledges the right to Jews to have their own nation. With reference to the profession that Jews are God's chosen people, well, this is a racist view and not accepted in a civilized society.

Unfortunately, for us—you'll recall the well-known publications in Kiev, Minsk, and Leningrad—the fight with Zionism often served to cover up anti-Semitic sentiment. Today, in light of the restructuring program, it seems that we're starting to reconcile the fight against Zionism with the fight against anti-Semitism.

[Question] And now a few "personal" questions. What is a typical day like?

[Answer] I get up about 6:00 a.m. and get to work at 9:00. I sit down to read TASS materials and other informative papers. After that, I think and to write.

[Question] As an international commentator, do you have to have some type of inspiration to do your job?

[Answer] Most of all, you just have to work, to write. Maybe the inspiration will come and maybe it won't. Regardless, you still have to work.

[Question] And your outside interests...

[Answer] My hobby is my work. I don't know of anything more interesting. On top of everyday matters, I try to work in the more weighty genres. I'm just about to publish a book on peaceful coexistence. I'm presently working on a book with the tentative title of "World Politics and International Relations."

I read a lot of literature on the politics of organizations, sociology, and philosophy. I do it mostly to help me in my job, but also for personal enjoyment.

[Question] If you could speculate for a moment, what does the future hold for the field of international journalism?

[Answer] It will be a more youthful field, more diversified, much more interesting, more refined. It will be without all those "blank spots" and without the restrictions which endure after critical analysis. Also, I hope that external stimulus, as it were, will help us here. When the "Soyuzdruku" newsstands freely began selling Western newspapers, when our T.V. networks start airing "their" programs, then there won't be anyplace to hide—it's better to work...

Several days after the interview, I saw Alexander Yevgenyevich Bovin at the press center for the Soviet-American summit. Serious, and dressed in a somewhat old-fashioned manner, he was easily distinguishable from our "international stars," that is, from the elegant Sturu, the impetuous Pozner, and the indulgent Kondrashov... It seemed as though he was bored with the bustling activity of reporting. Well, style dictates the character; but maybe this time the character dictates the style.

13006/12232

### **'Estonian Independent Youth Forum' Makes Reform Proposals**

#### **Komsomol Leader Criticizes Meeting**

18000565 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
8 Jun 88 p 1

[Article by Yu. Veldre, Tallinn State University journalism student: "Let the Caravan Go By, But We..." Discussion of Independent Youth Forum held in Tallinn in the "Kosmos" movie theatre]

[Text] During each break in the forum they asked me what I think of it, but I myself walked around with just such a question mark. No, it was not because I did not have my own ideas. I knew that they could change after each successive presentation, after each discussion of a message, or at the conclusion of the forum.

Perhaps it was fruitless to expect some central thought. There were thoughts, even a multitude of them, and good ones. Yet it turned out to be very difficult to gather them all into one, although it was formally possible.

They spoke about the things which during the times of Stalin only single individuals timidly thought about. They spoke of that which in the times of Brezhnev they cursed over a bottle and in private company. They spoke about the fact that even to this day, in the time of perestroika, people discuss questions while waiting in line at the market, but it is only selected individuals who rarely speak out openly from the "high" tribune.

In the "Kosmos" theatre they spoke from the tribune which laid claim to the name of the Estonian Independent Youth Forum. I believe they spoke sincerely and honestly, with conviction and with pain. There was enough matter-of-factness and knowledge of the subject, there was enough effectiveness and epatage. There were emotions and reason, democracy and, yes, demagoguery as well. They did not praise reality and current practice. Only their discontentment was heard. Not a stone was left standing of the management, local as well as higher-up. They also spoke on the topic of what might have been.

The forum ended, but what will follow?

Let us cast one last backward glance. In organizing the forum the example was taken, of course, from the united plenum of creative unions. In some things they consciously undertook less, and in some things they went farther. Undoubtedly, the spirit of the united plenum had the strongest effect on the independent youth forum. Although no one spoke in the name of the creative unions, many groupings tried to realize this independence in their own favor.

Another spirit was also felt, which was represented at the forum by a minority of individuals and one public response—"the golden sixties". This spirit was felt, probably, even to a greater degree. However, it was not only felt, but also juxtaposed: "I don't want to be like them".

Since I myself spoke on this topic and under the given circumstances pointed behind my back, I consider it my duty to speak out directly. (I do this as I did at the forum, compressed by a single topic in 2 minutes—without proof, commentary or examples).

I would like to continue the topic of the 60's and 80's, in this context—the topic of conservatism and radicalism.

The undoubted "achievement" of the 60's is us—the generation of the 80's. Thank you!

No, this is not a compliment and not any attempt to "butter up". It is the truth which you, the generation of the 60's, would like to forget. If you blame us for something, then blame yourselves too, for we are the fruits of your upbringing. However, at the present moment this is of no significance.

We, both generations, want a life which is most fitting to man. However, the generation of the 60's wanted it within the framework of the given conditions, while the generation of the 80's wants it independently of the given conditions.

What is the conservatism of the people of the 60's? It is actions according to "tactical considerations", consideration of "the political situation", etc. I would say that this is trading oneself, according to tactical considerations, trading with consideration for the political situation...

And what is the "political childhood" and "radicalness" of our generation of the 80's? Our political childhood is actually—honesty. It is the honesty to say openly what we think. While we did not have the opportunity to do this, we kept quiet. This is where our seeming passiveness stems from.

What is our radicalness? In fact it is a demand for elementary human rights (the right of self-determination of the people, the freedom of word, etc.). And to call this radicalness...

What is it that determines the high demandingness of the generation of the 80's? While preceding generations saw ideals as goals which they had to apply effort (struggle) to achieve, for our part it is the reality of ideals which has been bequeathed (the so-called theory and practice of the stagnation period, the divergence between word and reality).

Our generation is reproached for lacking a program. Our generation was feared, since they did not know what we wanted and what were capable of. It was more than the simple essence of a program which was expressed at the recently held forum. However, it is not yet clear what we are capable of.

The forum has ended, but what next?

The press tried to hush up the message of the united plenum of creative unions. I trust that the message of the youth forum will not get the red light in the press. However, neither is it getting the green light. In some places the united plenum was represented as a nationalistic assembly. I am afraid that they will try to pin the label of nationalistic extremism on the forum as well. The more abundant the slander, the more believable it becomes.

The united plenum was nevertheless able to stand up for itself with the help of its participants' prestige, its publications and its direct broadcasts. There were no such authoritative people at the forum, nor does it have its own publications or broadcasts.

Already while the forum was being held, the representatives of the "golden 60's" tried to hinder it and impose their own conditions. Will they support the address of the forum? (The representatives of the 60's supported the message of the united plenum.)

At the forum itself they spoke about goals, also about certain possibilities of action. However, they did not compile any specific program of action. Only the editorial commission stayed behind to work on the address.

Let the caravan move on, we will bark once...(?)

The Constitution of the Estonian SSR, the Basic Law currently in effect, was adopted on 13 April 1978. The generation of the 80's at that time was under age, but even their parents were able to participate only in the farce of discussing the Basic Law. The USSR Constitution was adopted 6 months earlier, on 7 October 1977, and the Constitution of the Estonian SSR did not have the right to enter into contradiction with it. Today, of course, it is acknowledged that with such a development of the matter we cannot speak of sovereignty of the republics. This is not an independent Basic Law, since it copies a higher document of a sovereign state. The young people did not even have a chance to express their opinion in regard to this document. They only have the responsibility to unquestioningly obey it.

I believe that in connection with the changes caused by perestroika, sooner or later the question of changing the Basic Law will arise. And it is primarily the youth who must be interested in this. The new Basic Law will affect the course of their lives most of all. Why wait until they give the sign from above? Why wait until those who need it least of all (in content as well as in time) begin to deal with the Basic Law? Many of the problems raised at the Estonian Independent Youth Forum are such that they can be solved only by changing the Basic Law. Therefore, there is no way other than the following: the next forum must end not with an address, but with a draft of the Basic Law. This draft of the Basic Law must be such that the coming generations would also have a real possibility of changing it in accordance with their needs, so that their children would be born not for laws, but for the creation of laws.

Only then can we say that the future belongs to the youth.

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After his address published in the newspaper NOORTE KHYAEL on 2 June, First Secretary of the Leninskiy raykom Estonian Komsomol Kalle Izand, by all appearances, was one of the most popular Komsomol leaders in



the republic last week. He could not keep silent any longer, particularly since, in the words of the CPSU Central Committee Secretary General, we have no zones closed to criticism.

Saturday evening Kalle and I were sitting in Victory Square.

[Question] It is 20:22 now. An hour ago we came out of the "Kosmos" movie theatre. What are your impressions?

[Answer] They are sorry impressions. Saturday is gone. The weather was good and, moreover, it was the opening of Old Town days. If I had the chance to choose over again whether to go to Old Town or sit at a function with the lofty name of "Estonian Independent Youth Forum", I would certainly have chosen the former. The forum in itself was not deserving of its name. There are objective reasons for this, lack of skill on the part of the organizers as well as the participants. However, their lack of professionalism can be forgiven. After all, where can one gain such skill?

[Question] Organizational concerns are half the battle. Much more significant is the essence.

[Answer] Today, in reality, they only talked, talked, talked. Yet they did not come to any conclusions. The forum ended with no specific conclusion. We cannot consider it to be that crusade which silently marched up to the Arts Institute and then fell apart, not even knowing what it was all for.

Of course, those who had gathered at the forum had stored up much bitterness. Perhaps that is why they were not able to rid themselves of their blinding emotional prejudices and pettiness in resolving matters. It is indicative that only during the last half-hour did they try to democratically solve who would participate in the editorial commission and what the forum must finally resolve. It was a real carnival, when the audience went out of control and even got to the point of absurdity, expressing its mistrust of the meeting chairman, Hans Luyga. Here is one more example: they spoke without restraint, there was no realized conception. One could sense that not everyone was at first able to define at least to himself why several hundred people had gathered in the "Kosmos" theatre and what they wanted to resolve.

[Question] The Komsomol was seriously mocked...

[Answer] The Komsomol was mocked in many respects. It is specifically this point which increases my disillusion regarding today's proceedings. I had hoped to find out something new and interesting. At the same time I was afraid, and at the same time I wanted to see that young people could do things better than the Komsomol. But I did not see this. I am comparing this specifically with our

last Komsomol Central Committee Plenum. That atmosphere was notably more business-like and matter-of-fact. Yes, it was undoubtedly a more working atmosphere. There they spoke out in a constructive manner. But here... At least half of the speakers built their speeches around some bitter note, recognizing the possibility of a "free microphone". Since before there had been no such possibility to speak out, now the people took advantage of it.

[Question] Is there any speech, idea or problem that sticks in your mind?

[Answer] Yes, I remember one woman. Remember the one who said: "I want a woman to have her own (inherent specifically to her, only her) rights. Dear man of perestroika, do not forget the woman". I also remember the speeches by the representatives of the MRP-AEG. They spoke well, although I cannot point out anything in particular.

[Question] Was there any line or thought which seemed to permeate the forum?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, it was the great desire for independence, for independence at all levels. Yet at the same time some participants did not realize that not every speaker was capable of discussing this problem in a reasonable manner. Unlike the united plenum of creative unions, no experts or specialists spoke in the "Kosmos" theatre, and everything was reduced to emotions. I noticed only one exception—the well argued presentation of the jurists, from which it became clear to all why these men came up to the podium and what they wanted to say.

**Proposals Addressed to ESSR Supreme Soviet**  
*18000565 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian*  
*18 Jun 88 p 3*

[Article by E. Veskimyae, chief of juridical section, ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Youth Forum; Proposals of the Estonian Independent Youth Forum Addressed to the ESSR Supreme Soviet". First three paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The Estonian Independent Youth Forum was held 2 weeks ago. Three weeks have passed since the 4th Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee. The readers have had the opportunity of becoming more broadly acquainted with the materials of this plenum than ever before. Today the proposals addressed to the community and to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet by the Estonian Independent Youth Forum, which was held at the initiative of the ESSR creative youth, are being published on the pages of the newspapers NOORTE KHYAEL and MOLODEZH ESTONII.

In comparing the decisions and materials of the 4th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum with the proposals of the youth forum, we may conclude that the goals

and activity of the republic Komsomol organization in environmental protection and formulation of ecological thought, in questions of education and cultural life, in problems of the young family, youth associations based on interests, juridical formulation of movements, and protection of the rights of the youth are similar, and evidently, that is how it should be.

The forum has given many young people the opportunity to express their opinion regarding the current course of perestroika. However, each subsequent meeting must become a step in the direction of competency and specificity, so that we might go from the discussion of global and often unfulfillable proposals to a matter-of-fact solution of the pressing problems. Evidently, the published materials will receive varied reviews. Numerous proposals will follow on what the future of the youth movement in the republic should be like.

#### **Proposals of Estonian Independent Youth Forum to the Community and to the ESSR Supreme Soviet**

##### **I. Statehood**

1. We demand a new Basic Law for the Estonian SSR. In the case of contradiction between the all-union Law and the Law of the union republic, the Law of the union republic should prevail.
2. Estonian SSR citizenship should be based on the qualification of permanent residence and mastery of the Estonian language. We would like to see the Soviet Union as a union of sovereign republics.
3. Forty-eight years of single-party rule in Estonia have given much proof to the fact that such form of government, along with being unethical, is also an effective method for managing people and the state. Political and ideological pluralism would ensure the development of democracy. Affiliation with political organizations should not present any advantageous rights to its members outside of these organizations. A political mass organization should not be the sole representative of the community.
4. The existing electoral practice should be subject to open discussion, and facts of abuse should be disclosed. The existing electoral legislation should be recognized as unsuitable and replaced with democratic legislation. Having done this, we may move toward elections of popular representation and replace the nominal people's authority with a true people's authority.
5. The separate existence of legislative, executive-administrative and judicial authorities, as well as the presumption of innocence, must be guaranteed by the Basic Law.
6. Naturally, the Estonian SSR as a sovereign Soviet republic should have representation with the right to vote in the UN, the International Olympic Committee, and other international organizations.

7. Estonian must be the state language of the Estonian SSR.

8. The inviolability of the national flower must be secured by law.

##### **II. Environmental Protection**

1. No increase should be allowed in the number of sources of radioactive contamination in our homeland.
2. The questions of alternative power sources, agriculture, and lifestyle require greater attention than they have received up until now.
3. Extra-departmental control over the condition of the environment must be introduced, and an open illumination of the existing position must be ensured.

##### **III. Education and Culture**

1. The management of education and cultural life in all of Estonia must be under the jurisdiction of the Estonian SSR. The international prestige of the republic certificate of education must be our goal.
2. To ensure a current level of education, we must introduce pluralism of education and instruction. We must also remember that any organizations, as well as individuals, may aid in the development of education.
3. We demand the recognition of the achievements attained during the period of the Estonian Republic, as well as an honest illumination of the turning points in the history of Estonia.
4. We consider it necessary to create a World Estonian Education Fund for the national intelligentsia.
5. We should consider the possibilities of using the systems of loans and payments in obtaining an education. The system of loans would make it possible to perform free selection of an educational institution regardless of state boundaries.
6. We would like to participate in the creation of an Estonian Institute which would engage in cultural exchange and familiarization with Estonian culture in other countries of the world.
7. We support the cultural autonomy of the national minorities of Estonia ensured by state guarantee.
8. We condemn mixed schools and children's institutions.

##### **IV. The Young Family**

1. In order to compensate for the loss inflicted on the growth of the population by the time of Stalinist repressions, as well as by the subsequent order of distributive

relations, the young family of Estonian citizenship should be granted economic advantages in the republic. We are forced to make this proposal only due to the serious concern for revitalization of the nation. In order to understand our concern, we must delve into the questions of housing distribution, urban and rural relations, as well as the relative share of persons of native nationality in our homeland.

2. As the initial step, we consider it prudent to create a Fund for the Young Estonian Family and to direct monies from the tax on childlessness to this fund.

3. The development of the All-Union Law on Youth should be discontinued. Each republic can itself establish its own Law on Youth if it sees fit.

#### V. Law

1. On the way toward creating a legal state, we are striving toward bringing Soviet legislation into line with the All-Union Declaration of Human Rights. The USSR must ratify the optional protocol of the two pacts on human rights concluded in 1966, which would make it possible to extend the activity of the Committee on Human Rights to the Soviet Union. We must organize a constitutional court.

2. We must make publicly accessible all documents regulating state life, including laws which are the basis for the activity of the party organs, the law enforcement organs (Ministry of Internal Affairs, State Security Committee, procurator's office, Glavlit [Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press], all instructions, resolutions, and directives, and provide for openness on relations under their jurisdiction.

3. We must ensure the participation of a public defender at all stages of criminal investigation, as well as during questioning and depositions given by each citizen.

4. Every citizen must have the right to review information gathered about him in the state institutions, as well as the unlimited right of appeal to a court, constitutional court, or Committee on Human Rights.

5. We should reject the monopoly on means of mass information, which in essence annuls the right of a person to freely express his political and religious views. This is also confirmed by the fact that the address by of the initiative group of the Independent Youth Forum was never published in NOORTE KHYAEL. Censorship should be abolished.

6. Discriminatory legislation on religion should be eliminated. The prohibition against religious propaganda which has been introduced into the legislation contradicts the decrees by the Christian Bible to preach the faith. At the present time, the free dissemination of ideas does not present a threat to any single true popular authority.

7. Criminal attitudes are reinforced and strengthened at places of imprisonment, and human rights are systematically violated.

The order of supervision over preliminary investigations and places of imprisonment, as well as the methods of punishment, require basic change. An independent control commission should be created to see that imprisonment and punishment are not accompanied by degradation of human dignity or infliction of physical and mental suffering. Persons holding Estonian SSR citizenship who violate the law should have the right to serve their sentence in Estonia.

8. Persecution and punishment of people for their convictions must be stopped. We demand the liberation of prisoners of conscience.

#### VI. Military Service

1. We demand open analysis of the order of fulfilling military service and the publication of the results. Particular attention should be given to the question of the prudence of the existing order of urgent service from the standpoint of strategy, as well as from the standpoint of its harmful effect on the economy, culture and the individual.

2. Students and graduates of VUZes should have first priority in being excused from service, so as to retain trained specialists for work according to their specialty. We support the proposal of the Tatra school girls regarding the substitution of domestic science for military education for girls.

3. A commission should be formed under the ESSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet to review the order and expediency of performing military service, as well as to present these questions for open discussion.

4. We must institute labor service for those who, because of their moral convictions, cannot bear arms or take an oath.

5. Military subdivisions must also be subordinate to the laws of the union republic. We oppose the expansion of military facilities. We should make public the number of military servicemen in Estonia, and not allow this number to be increased.

6. We should put an end to migration to Estonia by military servicemen who are retiring or being placed on reserve.

7. We must formulate territorial military subdivisions and provide for the fulfillment of military service in the state language.

## VII. Economics

1. We must eliminate the anonymous ("all-people's") form of ownership.

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In the course of preparing for and implementing the 4th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum, and in the proposals of the Estonian Independent Youth Forum to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and the republic community, principle questions have been raised which have become particularly current for the republic's community on the threshold of the 19th Party Conference. Part of these questions have been repeatedly raised in the press, on television and radio. They were discussed and various points of view and proposals were expressed.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium receives many letters and announcements from citizens, collectives, organizations and institutions which touch upon a very broad circle of problems. Part of these questions are specific, and the authors of these letters are given responses.

To develop the proposals dealing with the broad community and the republic as a whole, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has created 7 work groups. These discussed many of the problems raised at the youth forum. The proposals developed by the work groups were discussed on 13 June in the appropriate commission, of which the republic newspapers informed their readers over ETA. There is no need to repeat what was said there. However, we should note that only the wishes and the viewpoint of the commission were expressed. These will become official with the adoption of the appropriate legislative acts.

Many questions raised at the youth forum may be resolved with improvement of the interrelations of the USSR as a union state with the union republic. It was proposed that the sovereignty of the union republic be expanded, so that the local Councils become masters with full rights on their territory, having real guarantees for implementing their laws.

The work groups also discussed many other questions: the system of elections, the improvement of legislation, and the expansion of openness. Their resolution will help to democratize public life and to strengthen law and order.

Since the solutions to many of these questions are closely interrelated, it is difficult and even impossible to give specific answers to some of these questions. Some of the proposals, in our opinion, have been raised for the first time and require greater development. In connection with this, we believe that such questions and definitions should be forwarded to the appropriate work groups, in

which competent persons can provide positional answers to them (as, for example, the Fund for the Young Estonian Family, the Estonian World Education Fund, etc.).

As for the opinion expressed by the youth forum regarding the existing practice of elections, we must note the following. Undoubtedly, the period of stagnation has left its mark on all spheres of life, in political activity, and also in the currently existing electoral practice. The basic shortcomings of this fact have found rather broad illumination in the means of mass communication, and in the periodical and special press. Intensive work is being performed today on improving electoral legislation. Here we should note that the principles of the effective electoral legislation also have a democratic content, although this has not excluded the possibility of their being distorted in practical application, and it is this application which really does require cardinal change. Such change may be ensured by the development of the appropriate legislation, in which the spirit of our time would be appropriately embodied.

12322

### **Estonian Komsomol Plenum Addresses Republic Party, State Bodies**

*18000573 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
17 Jun 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "The Komsomol Package of Proposals"; first paragraph is MOLODEZH ESTONII introduction]

[Text] On 27-28 May the 4th plenum of the Central Committee of the Estonian Komsomol took place in Tallinn, which discussed the question of the course of restructuring in the republic Komsomol organization. Since it is impossible to consider the Komsomol organization in isolation from the whole of public life, the participants in the plenum did not limit themselves to the discussion of only intra-union problems. Participants in the plenum included representatives of the party organs, the government of republic, the ESSR Supreme Soviet, and public organizations. The proposals that were received in the course of the preparation and conduct of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Estonian Komsomol, addressed to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the ESSR Council of Ministers, and the ESSR Trade Union Council were then summarized in the document being published below.

1. The accumulation of unresolved problems in Estonia is, to a large extent, the consequence of the continuing effect of the obsolete economic mechanism and the super-centralized leadership that safeguards it. A real way out is seen in the transition to regional cost accounting, which would exclude the dictate of the union departments in the economic life of the republic. The rights and powers of the local Soviets in the solution of all questions

relating to the socio-economic development of the territory should be expanded, the authority of the Soviets and the feeling of master should be revived.

For this reason we regard it as necessary for the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the ESSR Supreme Soviet and the ESSR Council of Ministers to provide all-round support of the conception of republic cost accounting and to take it as the basis in the composition of the programs of their further activity.

2. We join the position of the Council on Ecology with respect to the question of phosphorites that was published in the newspaper EDAZI on 15 April 1988. We believe that in case of the exploitation of phosphorites the ecological situation in the greater part of the territory of Estonia, the state of the Gulf of Finland, and the economic and socio-cultural situation in Estonia will prove to be catastrophic.

Inadmissible is the reconstruction of the Baltic Thermo-electric Power Station in accordance with a technically obsolete plan that does not make possible a significant reduction of the pollution of the natural environment of Northeast Estonia and the compliance with the international convention on the limitation of the spread of pollutants.

We propose to the government of the republic to secure, prior to the confirmation of all plans for large-scale construction and reconstruction work, their comprehensive technical, economic, social and ecological examination with the publication of their results.

The preservation of a life environment in Estonia that is worthy of man requires ecological literacy of the entire population:

a) We are petitioning the ESSR State Committee for Public Education for the development and introduction, for public discussion, of a differentiated program of ecological education;

b) we are petitioning the ESSR State Committee for the Preservation of Nature and Forestry for the development of nature education centers on the model of the Pyakhniskiy Education Center in Vyruskiy Rayon;

c) we are petitioning the ESSR State Committee for Public Education to strengthen the material base of the Houses of Young Naturalists;

4. We are petitioning the ESSR State Agroindustrial Committee for support of an experiment in the development of conservation-oriented agriculture in the ESSR, including a corresponding initiative of young scientists in the Ilumyae Kolkhoz of Rakvereskiy Rayon.

5. Proceeding from the fact that the presently-existing 2-hour advance in relation to the astronomical zone time in the Baltic republics is unfounded from an energy

standpoint, as well as counter-indicated both in social and biological respect, we support the position expressed in the newspaper EDAZI on 26 April 1988, as well as the positions expressed by many institutes of the ESSR Academy of Sciences concerning the repeal of the decreed time on the territory of the ESSR. We believe it necessary that this question be examined in the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

6. We support the position of the 4th Estonian Ecological Conference to the effect that the ESSR Council of Ministers petition for the publication of large-scale maps of Estonia (1:300 000; 1:200 000) in Estonian and Russian.

7. Agreeing with the joint decision of the College of Public Organizations of the USSR and the Republic Board of the ESSR Society for the Protection of Nature, we are turning to the ESSR Supreme Soviet with a petition for the development of a legislative act regulating the publication of information concerning the environment in the ESSR.

8. We consider it necessary to define in the ESSR Constitution the essence of citizenship of the republic and to guarantee the legal status of citizen and citizenship of the ESSR.

9. For better mastery of the real situation, as well as the direction of the processes that are taking place in the ESSR, we consider it necessary:

a) To publish in full the statistical data that have to do with the social, demographic, and ecological situation;

b) to process and publish, in the ESSR, the results of the All-Union Census of the population in 1989 for the ESSR;

10. To improve the demographic situation in the republic, we consider it necessary:

a) To examine in an integrated manner the questions relating to the young family and to work out a program for its development;

b) to raise the prestige of the spiritually and physically healthy family in society;

c) to extend paid leave to mothers to take care of a child up to the age of 3 years;

d) to pay a mother 40 or more rubles for the education of every child until he comes of age;

e) to solve the question of receiving a cost-free loan for young people in an amount up to 5,000 rubles;

f) to establish a demographic fund.

11. We support the proposals of the scientists of the Institute of Economics of the ESSR Academy of Sciences, published in the newspaper RAKHVA KHAEL of 11 May 1988.

At the same time, we propose to discuss also the possibility of redistributing the subsidies that are being allotted for children's articles and pre-school children's institutions, in favor of young mothers.

12. There is a need for the concretization of the role of the trade union organizations in questions of the education of the young generation. For this reason, we are turning to the ESSR Trade Union Council with a proposal concerning the regulation of the concrete functions of the trade unions in the matter of educating young people.

13. It is extremely necessary to raise the prestige of education in society. To this end, we consider it necessary:

a) To pay work according to the level of education and qualification;

b) to bring the minimum wage of teachers working with a normal load and in normal conditions to the average republic level;

c) to solve the question of the remuneration of the work of textbook authors;

d) to introduce the position of psychologist all educational institutions of the ESSR;

e) to recognize the teacher as a creative worker and to grant him the corresponding rights;

14. We petition for an increase in the allocations for public education and the strengthening of the material base of educational institutions, non-school and pre-school, educational organizations and pioneer camps. First of all, we propose the completion of the construction of the Tallinn Palace of Pioneers and Pupils, the ESSR House of Young Naturalists, and the Tallinn Zoo, with an appropriate center of ecological education.

15. We support the experiment in the educational system of the ESSR. We consider it necessary to divide the experiment into stages in order to show the immediate tasks and to better realize the final goal. We consider it expedient:

a) To develop unified programs, educational plans and textbooks for Estonian and Russian-language schools;

b) to introduce the subordination of all educational institutions on ESSR territory to the ESSR State Committee for Education—regardless of their departmental affiliation and language of instruction;

c) to repudiate the thesis of universal mandatory secondary education.

16. It is necessary to build during the next five-year plan a modern, international republic pioneer camp operating on a year-round basis as a center for methodical-practical instruction of the pioneer aktiv and the center for the development of the creative abilities of children. The camp would make it possible to establish and develop friendly relations with children from other countries and republics.

To simplify the management of the pioneer camps, we propose to revise the organization of their work.

We consider it necessary to strengthen the material base of the pioneer camps to improve the living and recreation conditions of the children.

17. We consider it necessary to change the existing procedure for training pioneer workers and the procedure of the work of the Houses of Pioneers so that the Houses of Pioneers would become a structural unit of the republic pioneer organization.

18. For the better training of young people for service in the Armed Forces, we consider it necessary:

a) To change the program for military training in the VUZ's;

b) to conduct sports and athletics meets of draftees only at the rayon level in military sports camps.

19. We consider it necessary to change the program for elementary military training of women, having retained only elementary medical training.

20. During the present stage of restructuring, many new youth organizations, movements and leagues have come and are coming into being. We consider it necessary to develop a unified youth policy and to finance it from state funds.

21. For the implementation of a scientifically-grounded youth policy, the development of the integral program "The Young Generation" has begun jointly with the ESSR Academy of Sciences and Tallinn State University.

We petition the ESSR Council of Ministers to finance this program.

22. Today a rather difficult language situation has developed in Estonia. We consider necessary the creation, under the ESSR Council of Ministers, of a fund for the creation of a broad system of language study in Estonia.

23. We consider necessary the decentralization of the administration of cultural life in Estonia. We are submitting to the ESSR Council of Ministers a proposal

concerning the creation of a study group which would develop a conception of the administration of cultural life of the ESSR, proceeding from the proposals in regard to the improvement of the administration of culture published in the newspaper EDAZI on 28 April 1988. We consider necessary the financing of the study group on the part of the ESSR Council of Ministers.

24. In the construction and reconstruction of residential districts, we consider it as strictly necessary to keep to the deadlines for the construction of socio-cultural and sports installations established by order of the ESSR State Committee for Construction No 65, Appendix 1 and 2, dated 28 April 1967.

8970

### **Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Rural Development**

18300388 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
21 Jun 88 p 1

[Text of AzSSR Supreme Soviet decree: "Seventh Session of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation: Decree of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet on the Tasks of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the Republic in Regard to the Acceleration of the Socio-Cultural Development of the Village in the Light of the Requirements of Restructuring"]

[Text] The AzSSR Supreme Soviet notes that, in conformity with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the advanced tasks of restructuring and the acceleration of socio-economic development, the Soviet and economic organs of Azerbaijan are doing persistent work in regard to increasing the standard of living of the republic's rural population and the quickest overcoming of the accumulated problems of the socio-cultural development of the village.

The solution of the most important political and social task—a significant increase of the scales of housing and cultural construction so as to provide, by the year 2000, every family with a separate apartment or individual house and to create the necessary system of socio-cultural services and municipal services—is becoming a nationwide undertaking.

Visible changes in the solution of social problems are taking place in the current five-year plan. After 2 years and 5 months, the volume of state capital investments for the social reconstruction of the village increased by 1.7 percent in comparison to the corresponding period of the 11th Five-Year Plan. At the expense of all sources of financing, 3.2 million square meters of housing were introduced, which has made it possible to improve the housing conditions of 35,000 families. The volume of commodity turnover increased by 3.9 percent and of consumer services—by 27.2 percent. General education schools for 58,800 study places, children's pre-school institutions—for 8,650 places, hospitals—for 1,130 beds,

and clubs and houses of culture—for 8,300 places, which as a whole is 2-2.5 times more than for the corresponding period of the past five-year plan.

The activity of the republic Soviets of People's Deputies is being intensified and their role and responsibility for the comprehensive socio-economic development on the territory in their jurisdiction is increasing.

At the same time, radical changes and a qualitatively new level in the development of the social sphere have not yet been attained. Many social problems in the village have not found their solution for many years. There is still a shortage of well-equipped housing, model schools, children's pre-school and medical institutions, clubs, movie theaters, and sports installations. There are great difficulties and problems in the trade in food and industrial goods, in the consumer services for the population, and in the work of transportation and public utilities.

In terms of the provision of the rural population with housing, and socio-cultural facilities, and in terms of the level of commodity turnover and per capita paid services for the population, the republic lags significantly behind the average union indicators.

About 400 rural populated areas of the republic do not have club institutions, more than 180 rural libraries are accommodated in private homes. Only 7 percent of the children in the village are encompassed in pre-school institutions.

Many rural public health facilities are accommodated in old private homes, are poorly equipped with medical equipment, do not have a sufficient number of specialists, and are experiencing difficulties with the acquisition of medicines. The physical culture and sports base is poorly developed, there is a shortage of stadiums, sports installations, and swimming pools.

The list of consumer services extended to the rural population of the republic is limited, in many villages the service reduces itself to barbershops and hairdressing salons.

More than a third of the rural populated areas do not have constant bus service, every fifth village does not have telephone service, and every fourth—is not equipped with radio.

Low is the provision of the communal services with housing, and the available individual housing in the village is only partially equipped with gas service. In the presence of significant natural gas resources, 2,700 villages of the republic up to now have not been provided with gas service because of the lack of development of the system of gas pipelinenetworks.

The building of many rural populated areas is expressionless, monotonous, and does not correspond to the requirements of the individual households. Frequently the architectural appearance and planning of residential houses and public buildings do not take into account the demographic, national-consumer peculiarities and natural climatic conditions of the regions of construction. The quality of housing and public construction continues to remain low.

Great unevenness exists in the provision of housing and the level of social services to the population in different regions of the republic. Especially great is the acuteness of social problems in the mountain and remote rural regions, where the material base of the socio-cultural sphere has lagged behind, and labor resources are being poorly utilized. The differentiation of territorial indicators is aggravated by the fact that, as a consequence of the process of the enlargement of villages, the small villages remain outside the field of vision and practically no program of socio-cultural development is being carried out in them.

The lagging behind of the social infrastructure leads to the migration of the population into the cities and the desolation of the villages. During the past 30 years, the share of rural inhabitants in the total number of the republic's population decreased from 52 to 46 percent.

Great responsibility for the situation that has developed rests on the organs of the sectoral and inter-sectoral management, and above all on the republic State Agroindustrial Committee. The ministries and departments of the republic, which are in possession of the basic share of the capital investments and material-technical resources being allotted for the development of the socio-cultural sphere, do not show the proper concern for the state of development of the rural populated areas. Moreover, the funds that are being directed into the development of the social sphere of the village are not assimilated annually. During the past 2 years alone, the State Agroindustrial Committee failed to assimilate more than 10 million rubles of state capital investments allotted for these purposes.

The development of the socio-cultural sphere in the village is also being held back, at the local level, by the poor realization of the possibilities of the new economic mechanism and by the unprofitableness of agricultural production on many farms.

The question of providing full employment to the rural population is acute. The measures that are being taken to create branches of enterprises and to develop individual labor activity and work at home do not guarantee the solution of the problem. The possibilities of the introduction of cooperation into material production and the service sphere, the broad dissemination of lease and family contracts, and other new forms of labor organization are not being fully utilized in this matter.

The question of environmental protection has acquired special significance during the past few years. The elimination of the consequences of the reckless use of nature, the pollution of water sources and the air basin, which have led to the loss of soil fertility, soil erosion, the reduction of the gene pool [genofond], and the disappearance of some types of flora and fauna, are acute agenda items. The slow rates of the development of the rural social infrastructure and the low level of all types of services to the population are a consequence of the fact that the Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive committees pay little attention to these questions and do not reorganize their work in the light of the demands being presented.

In the conditions that have developed and taking into account the demands of the time, a revolution break-through is necessary in the socio-cultural development of the village, a break-through which has as its point of departure fundamentally new ideas and approaches that are based on economic reform and the interest of people.

The AzSSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To acknowledge the necessity of taking additional measures to increase the living standard of the republic's rural population and to carry out the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress with respect to the provision, by the year 2000, of every family with a separate apartment or individual home, as well as the comprehensive development of the material base of the socio-cultural sphere and the municipal services.

To this end, the AzSSR Council of Ministers should:

- On the basis of the proposals of the Councils of People's Deputies, ministries and departments of the republic, within a 3-month term, develop an Integrated Republic Program for the Socio-Cultural Development of the Village for the Period to 2005, in which to determine the control figures and tasks in departmental and territorial cuts for the construction of residential houses and facilities of the socio-cultural sphere. In the development of the program to take into account the necessity of bringing up to the standards the provision of the rural population with public health facilities, municipal services, children's pre-school institutions, cultural and educational institutions, and other facilities of socio-cultural designation, to provide for the improvement of trade and consumer services for rural inhabitants, the development of postal, telegraph and telephone communication and other spheres of paid services, the increase of construction and the improvement of the maintenance of highways of intra-farm and rayon significance;

- to pay special attention to the broad utilization of the new economic methods, the consistent elimination, on the basis of the application of the system of social and economic norms, of the disproportions that have



developed in the development of the social infrastructure of individual regions of the republic, and the priority development of the social sphere in mountain and remote rural regions.

2. For the State Agroindustrial Committee, the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Social Security, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance, and the local Soviets of People's Deputies, to take urgent measures to accelerate the socio-cultural development of the rural districts of the republic, the full assimilation of the funds allocated for these purposes, and the unconditional execution of the outlined measures.

For the AzSSR State Planning Committee and the State Construction Committee, the above-named ministries and departments to more resolutely implement the structural improvements in capital investments, bearing in mind the increase of their share being directed into the development of the social sphere. To be strictly guided by the instructions of the party and the government in regard to the direction of part of the funds provided for in the 12th Five-Year Plan from production to non-production construction.

On the basis of the concentration of material and financial resources, to examine the question of experimental-model construction, in concrete terms, of some villages in various regions of the republic in order to perfect the optimal structures and proportions of their development.

3. For the ministries and departments of the AzSSR and the local Soviets of People's Deputies to make every conceivable use of the possibility of the USSR Law "On Cooperation in the USSR" in the matter of effectiveness of management and the comprehensive socio-economic development of the territories, to promote the broad development of the cooperative movement in material production, municipal services, road construction, the service sphere, and other sectors.

4. For the AzSSR State Construction Committee and the Agroindustrial Committee and the Soviets of People's Deputies to secure the acceleration of the development of the lacking planning drafts and the construction of rural populated areas and central farmsteads of farms, stipulating in so doing the use of new model plans for residential houses and social and consumer facilities, taking into account the prospect of the development of populated areas in the climatic conditions of the region. To utilize modern engineering control in the plans and the application of progressive methods in construction and designs with the greatest use of local resources and possibilities.

5. For the AzSSR Council of Ministers and the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies to secure a significant increase in the volumes of individual housing construction. To eliminate bureaucratic obstacles in this undertaking and in every conceivable manner to encourage the growing desire of people to build their own homes. To implement the comprehensive development of the socio-cultural and the engineering-transportation infrastructure of the regions of individual construction.

In case of necessity, to correct previously-approved plans for the planning and construction of populated areas, having determined in them territories for individual construction with regard to the creation of farmsteads for the development of private subsidiary farms.

To take concrete measures for the fuller satisfaction of the demands of the rural population for building materials and plumbing fixtures, to activate all available reserves and possibilities for the expansion of repair and construction services, for a significant increase of the production and sale of local building materials.

To assist in every conceivable way the development of cooperative housing construction in the village, as well as the introduction of new forms housing cooperation—the sale, to cooperatives, of houses whose construction is finished, including with the involvement of bank credits and funds from enterprises and organizations.

6. For the AzSSR Ministry of Consumer Services, Azeritifik [not further identified], and the local Soviets of People's Deputies, to secure the further growth and increase in quality of trade and consumer services for the rural toilers, the strengthening of the material-technical base of trade, public catering, and consumer service enterprises, utilizing for this the funds and possibilities of sovkhozes and kolkhozes, enterprises and organizations.

To more actively apply the new forms of trade and consumer services, in every possible way to assist the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity in the sphere of service.

To secure in deed democratic principles of management in consumer cooperatives, to leave the solution of all questions to the general meetings of consumers' societies and their executive and command organs.

7. For the AzSSR State Agroindustrial Committee and the State Committee for Gas Supply, the Aztransgaz Production Association, to accelerate the execution of work on supplying the rural populated areas with gas and to guarantee, by the end of the 13th Five-Year Plan, the supply of network gas to all rural regions of the republic. To this end, by agreement with the AzSSR Council of Ministers and the corresponding union organs, by the end of the current five-year plan, to carry out the

necessary work in regard to the expansion of the material-technical base of the construction organizations within their jurisdiction—in volumes guaranteeing the execution of the established task.

8. For the AzSSR Gosplan, the State Agroindustrial Committee, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the ministries and departments, and the local Soviet organs to take additional measures to accelerate the solution of the problem of the employment of the able-bodied rural population. Along with the distribution manufactures, enterprise branches, and the development of work in homes, to make every conceivable use, in this undertaking, of the possibility of the broad introduction of cooperation with regard to local demographic conditions and traditions, the rural way of life, as well as lease and family contracts, and other new forms of labor organizations.

9. For the AzSSR State Agroindustrial Committee, ministries and departments, and the local Soviets of People's Deputies, to secure the strict implementation of the requirements of the nature-protection legislation, the full assimilation of the funds allocated for nature-protection measures, to take measures for the more efficient use of land, having called special attention to the prevention and elimination of soil erosion and the non-admission of their pollution. To secure the construction of model warehouses for the storage of chemical plant protectives.

For the nature-protection control organs to intensify control over the observance of requirements of legislation on the protection of nature and the rational use of natural resources.

For the Permanent Commission for Legislative Proposals of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet, jointly with the Permanent Commission for the Protection of Nature and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, with the involvement of the appropriate republic supervision and control organs, to study and generalize the administrative practice in regard to the observance of rules for the transportation, storage, and application of plant protectives and, in case of necessity, to introduce proposals on the establishment of administrative responsibility for their violation, not only in the case of pollution of the atmosphere, but also of land, water, and other natural resources.

10. For the AzSSR Soviets of People's Deputies, their executive and control organs, being guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums, the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Further Increase of the Role and Strengthening the Responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies for the Acceleration of Socio-Economic Development in Light of the Resolutions of the 27th

CPSU Congress," to secure the acceleration of the comprehensive socio-economic development of rural populated areas, to take effective measures to eliminate shortcomings, to improve the conditions of work, everyday life, and leisure of the toilers of the village. To regard these pressing tasks as the most important in the system of measures for the further increase of the well-being of the workers, and their execution—as a real contribution to the cause of restructuring.

In the conditions of the fundamental restructuring of the management of the economy, the broad democratization of public life, the outlined qualitatively new level of the powers and responsibility of the Soviets, set forth in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, it is necessary to manifest genuine preparedness and ability to solve all questions concerning the daily life of the workers, to be sovereign organs of popular representation.

11. For the Permanent Commissions of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet to intensify control over the activity of the ministries and departments of the local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Republic in regard to the acceleration of the social development of the rural populated areas in the light of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress.

Chairman of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet, S. Tatliyev; Secretary of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet, R. Kaziyeva; Baku 17 June 1988

8970

#### Kazakh Plenum on Nationalism, Internationalism

##### Kolbin Address

18300356a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 5 Jun 88 pp 1, 3-5

[Speech by G. V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee: "Report of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro on the Organizational and Political Work of Republic Party Organizations To Implement the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to the Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People'"]

[Text] Comrades!

As you are aware, in June of last year the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the request of the January Plenum of our republic party's Central Committee, considered the matter of "On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to the Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People" and subsequently passed a resolution on that matter.

Since that time almost one year has passed, yet only now do we deem it possible to discuss progress toward realization of this document at a plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

The substantial amount of time that has elapsed between the events of December 1986 in Alma-Ata, the appearance of the CPSU Central Committee resolution and today's discussion is, of course, not coincidental. We needed this "reprieve" in order to interpret fully the difficult situation existing in our republic and to seek out and realize fundamentally new approaches to solving a whole range of extraordinary political, socioeconomic and educational problems.

Now that we have assumed a clear-cut, tested stance in the difficult area of ethnic and interethnic relations, now that we have accumulated a certain amount of experience with guidance of the process of internationalist and patriotic education, we have a basis for an in-depth, thorough and calm dialogue. In other words, our republic party organizations does not come to this Central Committee plenum empty-handed: we have already gotten a good head start on the future and we are confident of the effectiveness of the approaches that we have chosen.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution is the pivotal point of this multifaceted work; party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and other public organizations have centered their efforts around it. This document, which is of tremendous political importance, provides an exhaustive evaluation of the situation as well as specific means of eliminating current shortcomings. In essence this CPSU Central Committee resolution is a comprehensive program of party action; it clearly formulates priority and long-range tasks for the communists of our republic.

We can also boldly declare that it is of a genuinely all-encompassing nature, since it does not consider the concepts of patriotism and internationalism in isolation, but rather within the context of their interrelation with a broad range of phenomena which influence the quality of our lives. This kind of genuinely partylike approach is fully in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist postulate that the nationalities problem never exists independently: it is always manifested under certain conditions and circumstances which affect it in varying ways but with absolute certainty.

While taking this fundamental conclusion of Leninist theory on the nationalities problem into account in our work, we are nonetheless deeply conscious of the fact that improvement of interethnic relations also means reinforcement of our socialist state system. For internationalism in its fullest form is an expression of the political unity of nations as they strive toward revolutionary transformation of society. It includes the lofty principle of mutual respect and trust among peoples. It is

internationalism which is the sensitive device regulating interethnic relations and responding to any deviations from the standards of social justice.

Now, at a time when our entire party and all labor collectives are making preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which will sum up the results of the great, nationwide job of bringing about radical renewal in all areas of public life, it is particularly evident to us that improvement of national and international relations is also, together with economic reforms and the development of democracy, one of the key factors in the restructuring being implemented in our country. Today as never before we are convinced that the success of the planned transformations will depend to a great extent on how carefully our communists and all our working people treat our greatest heritage, friendship among the peoples of our multiethnic Fatherland, how skillfully they will continue to augment this priceless treasure.

That is why today's discussion is so important to us; it provides us with another opportunity to discuss the matters of national and international relations which are of concern to us in a calm, comradely atmosphere. We must examine the specific causes of existing negative phenomena with a sense of extreme partylike responsibility and outline steps which will not only preclude any recurrence of nationalism and chauvinism but will also provide a reliable guarantee that people will be imbued with an internationalist consciousness.

We have all the necessary conditions for doing this. For the CPSU Central Committee resolution plainly states that over the years of Soviet government Kazakhstan has achieved significant successes in its economic, social and intellectual development with the aid of all our fraternal peoples. Today our republic is a major industrial and agricultural region. A true cultural revolution has occurred and a scientific and creative intelligentsia has taken shape.

Relationships based on equality, trust and mutual respect are growing stronger among our multiethnic population on the firm foundation of socialist internationalism and commonality of vital interests. At all stages of socialist construction the working people of Kazakhstan have demonstrated a high level of patriotism and loyalty to Leninist principles of internationalism and friendship among peoples.

These lines in the CPSU Central Committee resolution resounded throughout the entire party and the entire country. They reflect unwavering confidence in the healthy moral forces of a people whose history is indissolubly linked with the history of socialism and with the origin and development of the first workers' and peasants' state in the world.

The people of Kazakhstan have something to be proud of, something to preserve and multiply. The Kazakh people fully demonstrated their lofty internationalist qualities in those difficult December days when the emotional excitability of certain groups of young people was countered by tremendous restraint, conviction and a sincere desire to keep dissension from destroying our friendship.

During those days every resident of our republic capital underwent a reliability test: people from various ethnic groups participated actively in work to reestablish order and through their common efforts quickly extinguished incipient flash points of nationalistic extremism.

Nevertheless we must ask this question: how did it happen that in a social milieu with such strong traditions of internationalism, where young people imbibe the ideas of friendship and brotherhood with their mother's milk, it all of a sudden became possible to have these manifestations of ethnic hatred, immorality and lack of political culture? The problem, comrades, is that this did not happen "all of a sudden." Now we know that the "tinder" had accumulated for many years and that many problems had been clearly evident long before the crisis came. Honest people noticed them, and communists of principle repeatedly wrote in alarm to the CPSU Central Committee and the Kazakh CP Central Committee, yet those signals received no proper response.

Furthermore, as pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee resolution, "...the previous leaders of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and many of the republic's party committees committed serious errors in their realization of nationalities policy and slackened greatly in their work with regard to the internationalist and patriotic education of working people." And it is a well-known fact that where such work is neglected, where the ongoing educational process is cut back and is replaced by an ideological and moral vacuum, the weeds of nationalism will inevitably begin to grow. For the weeds of nationalism to grow all that is required is that no one notice them or combat them.

If we examine carefully the sources of past errors we inevitably arrive at the conclusion that everything started with the gradual "erosion" of class-oriented approaches to party-political work with the public. These approaches, which have been steadfastly affirmed since the establishment of the Soviet system in Kazakhstan, presented a reliable barrier against the infiltration of feudal-minded individuals, their minions and other counterrevolutionary elements into the party and into various administrative organs. The most capable members of the young working class and the poorest peasants of our republic were selected for party membership, appointment to administrative positions or study at VUZs. And whenever errors were committed in this respect party committees gave strict partylike assessments of all instances of political and class shortsightedness.

However, beginning in the 1950's there was a period of decline in this work, followed by a complete rejection of the class-oriented approach to cadre selection. There was an observable tendency, at first tentative and then growing stronger and stronger, toward division on the basis of clan, tribal and zhuz ties; this became particularly widespread after D. A. Kunayev assumed leadership of our republic party organization.

At this point in time it is difficult to say precisely why he was involved in the appearance of these phenomena which are so alien to our party and our society. Perhaps this is a reflection of certain personal motives and hidden sympathies or antipathies. In any event it is indisputable that it was under his administration that once again ostentatious mazary began to built on which were inscribed not only the name of the deceased, but also his family and clan affiliation. It was under his leadership that people suddenly again began remembering what clan they belonged to, and not for the sake of a laudable desire to find out about their genealogical roots, but rather to serve quite concrete and pragmatic interests. It was at this time that the appointment of persons from one's home region, nepotism and flagrant protectionism became more prevalent. So that finally it was one's membership in a certain clan that determined one's worth rather than one's work record, class experience, knowledge or abilities. The more "distinguished" that clan was the more preference one received with regard to VUZ admissions, promotions to administrative positions, etc.

Naturally in this monstrous situation a negative approach to the formation of ethnic units of the working class also prevailed. There was also a kind of "social imperative" demanding pseudoscientific studies on the history of clan-tribal relationships. And once again sycophantic, opportunistic people could be found who quickly realized "which way the wind was blowing." Thus, for example, O. Ismagulov published a book entitled "Etnicheskaya antropologiya Kazakhstana" [The Ethnic Anthropology of Kazakhstan] in which he "brilliantly" demonstrated, literally on the genetic level, the differences between the Kangly and the Alban, the Konrat and the Nayman, the Argyn and the Aday. In a word, everything had its niche, its "perch." And what difference did it make to him that the Kazakhs who defended the Soviet system during the Civil War, who fought to the death at the walls of Moscow in 1941, who captured Berlin in 1945, shed the same identical blood as did Russians, Uzbeks, Ukrainians, Tajiks and all the other peoples of our multiethnic Union? In this respect as well O. Ismagulov attempted to "prove," on the basis of "painstaking scientific analysis," of course, that we all have different sorts of blood.

Or another example: some members of the Uighur intelligentsia have persistently requested that the party's Central Committee publish a history book by M. N. Kabirov entitled "Uygury—avtokhtony Semirechya" [The Uighurs: Autochthons of the Semirechye Region].

For those who are unfamiliar with this abstruse scientific term, I will explain: in this context autochthons are the true, original inhabitants of a country. So even in the title one sees what objective the author is pursuing in this "scientific" treatise. And, indeed, M. N. Kabirov is not bothered in the slightest by his own factual discrepancies and blatant errors in logic. Using all manner of truth and untruth he attempts to prove that all achievements in the realm of material and spiritual culture in the Semirechye Region are the sole property of the Uighur ethnic group. Hence his conclusion that that people is exceptional and superior to others.

Why is all this being done? Merely for the sake of revealing scientific truth? Hardly. Emphasizing in their works the anthropological differences between members of a single people living in different regions of Kazakhstan, attempting to prove the superiority of one culture over another and debating about who is a "true" native inhabitant and who is not, the authors of these books are providing grist for the mills of those who favor a zhuz-based classification, who need to stick people into ethnic "pigeonholes," who would like to continue founding their fortunes on clan-related privileges. How this is done in practice is convincingly illustrated by the cadre "policy" carried out by Askarov, former first secretary of the Chimkent Party Obkom. In the 27 years he held that same post in Dzhambul and Alma-Ata oblasts he systematically selected cadres exclusively on the basis of the region from which they came, working diligently to drive out basically anyone who belonged to a different clan or tribe.

Unfortunately, Askarov was not the only one doing this. Sensing unspoken assent from "higher up," certain administrators in Taldy-Kurgan, Uralsk and Guryev oblasts and many of our republic's cities and rayons followed the same policy. The situation of cliquishness and favor trading which existed in those areas led inevitably to the moral decadence of cadres. As you are aware, three obkom first secretaries, three oblispolkom chairmen and over 20 party gorkom and raykom first secretaries have been relieved of their positions on account of their flagrant abuse of their official positions.

At the same time insufficient attention was being devoted to a genuinely Leninist internationalist approach to the formation of all branches of the social and political structure. There was a certain lack of attention to the needs and wants of some ethnic groups and this naturally infringed upon those groups' vital interests and rights and was a major cause of outmigration from Guryev, Dzhezkazgan, Kzyl-Orda, Semipalatinsk and Tselinograd oblasts.

I would like to make a special comment on the work of law enforcement organs. The injustice of decisions made by them has at times created fertile soil not only for flagrant violations of socialist justice, but also for various manifestations of ethnic discord.

Bitter as it is to speak of this, certain individuals firmly ensconced in high party and state posts deemed it vitally important that law enforcement organs be uncomplainingly subordinate to them. Therein they saw, not without justification, the main precondition for their own safety from prosecution for any of the unseemly acts they committed. This is why procuracy, militia and court personnel were selected more and more often on the basis of clan and zhuz ties, close friendships or ethnic background. This vice was especially widespread in Alma-Ata, Chimkent and Dzhambul oblasts.

Could the cadres selected in this manner be independent and protect the interests of the state and the interests of citizens honestly and selflessly? Quite the contrary; in their slavish devotion to their protectors they shut their eyes to corruption and embezzlement, protected those who accepted bribes, hid account-padding and unjustified writing off of goods and equipment.

In this way zhuz-based protectionism and regional favoritism penetrated into the most diverse administrative organs and enabled infringement on the foundations of socialist law and order and monstrous distortions of party policy.

Do I need to tell you what tremendous damage all this did to the cause of internationalist education, what distortions arose in the process of formation of the people's ethnic self-awareness? For nothing so undermines people's faith in socialist ideals as violations of social justice, especially if these occur as a result of deformation of interethnic relations.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution correctly stresses that serious shortcomings exist in our ideological and political work. If we are to be completely frank, we must admit that the process of internationalist and patriotic education through ideological means had come to a virtual standstill in our republic. In this highly important sector of party activity window-dressing, empty rhetoric and command-bureaucratic methods of administration flourished with particular vigor.

In order to camouflage the true state of affairs a so-called "facade" ideology was created. Remember the almost ritualistic phrases about Kazakhstan as "a planet with 100 languages," "a laboratory of friendship among peoples"; these were like well-worn coins, their images faded from frequent use, but smooth and well polished. They took firm root in the consciousness of leaders at various levels and penetrated to the heart of the masses, inspiring an atmosphere of indifference and the illusion that all was trouble free with regard to international relations.

Thoughtful, individualized work with people, especially with members of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, was replaced by instructions from "higher ups" who

brook no objections. And those who attempted to resist these military-style methods were instantly subjected to defamation, obstruction and various penalties, even including loss of jobs.

Need I explain to you that this sort of "ideological" work, if I may call it that, was in sharp contradiction to the principles of democratization of public life, and was therefore a serious hindrance to restructuring? It was no coincidence that people began to lose interest in speeches by ideological workers, many of whom held their positions, and still continue to hold those positions, not on account of their ability, but rather as a result of their adherence to the long since discredited command work style.

Is this not why the words addressed to the young people who had gathered on the square did not have any effect? Is that not the reason why young men and women heeded the exhortations of their nationalistically inclined "leaders" rather than speeches by leading ideological workers?

Substantial damage to the formation of a healthy ethnic self-consciousness also came from another quarter. It is no secret that the natural desire to interpret the role and place of one's own nation in the social and historical process, ethnic pride in its contribution on a par with the contributions of other fraternal peoples to the origin and development of our unified socialist Motherland could under certain conditions be distorted into nationalistic self-adulation, conceit and egoism.

This occurs when the level of comprehension of Leninist nationalities policy declines and the materialist world view stance becomes unstable. It occurs when we forget the immutable truth that self-awareness does not form on its own, but instead is dependent upon mutual regard for peoples' needs and interests in an atmosphere of mutual respect for ethnic values and people's ethnic dignity.

What else but blatant self-adulation was manifested in the shameless propagandizing of hollow, nonexistent successes which had supposedly been achieved in Kazakhstan's economy? The dynamic way in which the level of assessments submitted by the former leaders of our republic rose from year to year was amazing. Here are just a few quotes from reports presented at Central Committee plenums:

1976—"Agriculture in Kazakhstan has set out confidently on the road of intensification and is developing steadily and dynamically."

1982—"Our republic is a major supply of meat, butter and other food products for the all-union market."

1984—"Comrades, we are working quite well, we are doing great things, we are holding high the reputation of our republic's goods and labor!"

No one knows to what unparalleled heights these self-inflated orators might have subsequently ascended if the dizzying spiral of alleged successes had not been put to an end by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. At that time the true state of affairs was revealed and it bore little resemblance, to say the least, to the cheery tone of previous statements.

Let us consider the most general index: production of national income. Our annual growth rate for this figure, which exceeded the all-union rate during the 8th Five-Year Plan, began to decline steadily, falling to 1.3 percent during the 11th Five-Year Plan, the smallest rate of increase in the country.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan our republic had a shortfall of over one million tons of rolled metal goods, 430,000 tons of iron, 300,000 tons of ferrous alloys and other goods, worth altogether a total of approximately three billion rubles, in its shipments to customers in other regions.

As for our agricultural production, during the 11th Five-Year Plan Kazakhstan's sovkhozes and kolkhozes registered a shortfall on the all-union market of 18.5 million tons of grain, almost 263,000 tons of meat and over 57,000 tons of dairy products.

Empty assurances from high places concerning our republic's economic upsurge on the one hand, and the empty shelves of food stores and the shortage of housing and consumer goods on the other could not fail to have an corrupting effect and leave deep anti-democratic marks on the consciousness of working people.

It must also be stated here today that the personal friendship between D. A. Kunayev and L. I. Brezhnev played a fateful role in the incorrect and obviously inflated assessments of the condition of our republic. This was an example of protectionism on the highest level. One need only recall the golden rain of awards which poured down so abundantly during those years. This was nothing more nor less than a means of covering up major errors and shortcomings; it was intended to produce an illusion of prosperity.

While in no way belittling the labor contributed by thousands and thousands of workers who toiled honestly and selflessly during the period of stagnation and who did their jobs with a sense of true partylike responsibility, it must be noted that in 1979 and 1982, times when the republic and its administrative cadres were given major awards for successes in grain production, the overall condition of the economy was by no means impressive. There was chronic underfulfillment of plans for meat and dairy production, economic indices in industry were declining, plan goals for the production of metal were not being met, and there were serious lags in capital construction. The food supply was not improving.

Against this backdrop excessive praise for individual services and coverups of alarming tendencies toward economic decline did our republic tremendous physical and moral harm. If today we compare several indices on the development of the KaSSR and its fraternal republics, Belorussia, the Ukraine and the RSFSR, for instance, republics which are "lagging behind" Kazakhstan in the number of awards they win, the comparison is very definitely not in our favor.

For instance, we produce fewer consumer goods per capita by a factor of one-and-a-half or two. Our retail trade situation is significantly worse. The adequacy of our preschool facilities, public food service facilities, etc. is much less. Yet all these things are vital matters in relation to people's standard of living; these matters have fallen victim to personal ambition, pompous blathering and the awards boom.

It was egotistical motivations which prompted some former leaders to erect monuments to themselves during their own lifetimes, as well as to pass themselves off as supposed "fathers of the nation" and local patriots, all to the detriment of working people's social needs and wants. And it is with complete justification that the CPSU Central Committee resolution points out that the creation of an unhealthy social and political atmosphere in our republic, in the areas of nationalities relations as well, was to a great extent made possible by "flagrant violations of the standards and principles of party leadership by D. A. Kunayev, former first secretary of the Central Committee. His work style is characterized by subjectivism, violation of the principle of collective leadership and encouragement of servility and toadyism. He has promoted persons on the basis of their family ties and is surrounded by individuals who abuse their official positions for the sake of personal profit." A harsh but precisely correct appraisal.

You will of course recall that at one time the Central Committee Bureau promised to answer the question of "Who's who?" And over the past one-and-a-half years we have obtained more and more new facts and have gradually lifted the veil of secrecy surrounding the names of those who are to blame for the most flagrant violations; we have revealed the truth both in the press and at plenums. We are doing the same thing today, in spite of the unwillingness of former leaders to reveal the whole truth to the people.

However, people continue to ask us: who organized the nationalistic demonstrations? Obviously by framing the question in that fashion people are hinting at the existence of some sort of nationalist organization which should be found and exposed. We have already responded to these intimations with complete clarity. And I will say the same thing again here today: there was no underground organization, neither then nor now! What it was was something else altogether: opposition to restructuring on the part of those who had been undeservedly promoted to the highest echelons of party and

state leadership, who were willing to use all their power and any means at their disposal to hamper the coming of positive changes to our republic.

Around the former leaders there formed a fairly large group of people who operated a system of mutual favors based on bribery and careerism. But each person was operating for his own benefit, for the purpose of furthering his selfish personal interests. Haunted by the fear of impending punishment for their deeds, they were the ones who stirred up young people, intentionally exploiting nationalistic sentiments. What sort of individuals were these? All of them came from D. A. Kunayev's inner circle: the Central Committee administrator of affairs, an aide to the Central Committee first secretary, the head of the economic administration of the Council of Ministers, the head of a State Automobile Inspectorate special division and the rectors of several VUZs in Alma-Ata who were connected with the former Central Committee first secretary through kinship ties. They have now all been relieved of their positions; some have been expelled from the party and others are in custody.

In view of these facts one can see why D. A. Kunayev refused to appear before the people to explain the motives behind the decisions of the 5th Plenum of the KaSSR CP Central Committee. Quite frankly, he faced a difficult dilemma: on the one hand he was obligated by his conscience and his honor as a communist to do everything in his power to aid the republic party organization at a difficult moment, but on the other hand this would have meant coming into conflict with his closest associates, the ones who for many years had obliged him and cultivated his personality cult in Kazakhstan. D. A. Kunayev could not sacrifice his personal connections, could not make the only correct and principled decision. And this is absolutely typical of his political nature.

Though we feel the full bitterness of the December events, we nonetheless are profoundly aware and once again emphasize that the Kazakh people had no part in them; the Kazakh people have always been and remain an internationalist people. What happened is incapable of destroying friendship nurtured by many generations of people of the various nationalities that live in Kazakhstan. Now that a relatively long period of time has passed we can state with complete confidence that our unity has remained unshaken.

The opponents of restructuring who provoked the disturbances in Alma-Ata did not come from any single ethnic group; as we now know they included members of various nationalities. Therefore there is even less reason to accuse the Kazakh people of nationalism. If we look the truth squarely in the face and evaluate precisely the political situation, then we can arrive at only one conclusion: the line of demarcation did not run along ethnic boundaries, but instead followed individual social positions; these clearly separate that absolute majority of working people who hail restructuring from the pitiful rabble of its opponents, from those who have attempted



to preserve their personal privileges, personal fortunes and opportunities for further personal enrichment by any and all means. This is, I submit, the only correct, partylike and principled assessment of the historical moment which we experienced.

A great deal more could be said about the shortcomings, errors and outright violations of standards of public life for which our predecessors were to blame. But each one of us who are entrusted with the leadership of our republic party organization today promised when elected that he would make every effort to restore Leninist standards of party and public life and to foster affirmation of the principles of social justice. The time has come to keep those promises, i.e. to make radical corrections in those things which we are criticizing here today. This will be the starting point of work by our substantially renewed Central Committee Buro.

Immediately after the December events in Alma-Ata the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the Central Committee Buro agreed upon a system of measures designed to give people confidence in us, the staff of our republic party organs.

The first measure was to initiate consistent efforts to eliminate stagnation processes and create a reliable and effective mechanism for acceleration of social and economic development. The course toward affirmation of socialist democracy and people's self-government was greeted with approval by a majority of working people. Intensification of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism allowed us to give careful consideration to the interests of all nationalities, social groups and segments of the population and to outline ways of satisfying those interests as quickly as possible, to take steps aimed at improving the moral and psychological climate in our republic.

What specifically has been done? First of all there has been general discussion of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the KaSSR party organization. Speeches by communists and non-party members at meetings and plenums of party committees even more fully and specifically illuminated problems and convincingly demonstrated the significance of that highly important document, whose main points and conclusions met with the broadest support.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee initiated the ridding of party, soviet, trade union and economic all manner of careerists, timeservers, sycophants and other morally decadent individuals. You are well aware of how many people have been expelled from the Central Committee or relieved of their positions in the apparatus in this connection. I would add that over the past year alone there has been a turnover of approximately 28 percent among responsible officials in the apparatuses of party obkoms, of more than one-third in party gorkoms and raykoms, and of almost one in four members of the nomenklatura of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms.

One in ten of those thus replaced was removed for negative reasons. Analogous work has been done within soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs.

Today we can state that, firstly, there has been significant improvement in the cadre pool and that, secondly, new, fresh forces who are free from the burden of past errors joined the cause of restructuring. There has been considerable expansion of ethnic groups' representation in the apparatuses of party committees at all levels.

However, elimination of existing distortions in cadre policy is still not proceeding rapidly enough. Whereas the republic party organization consists of communists from 91 peoples and ethnic groups, among candidates for promotion to the position of obkom secretary only five are represented; in Guryev, Dzhezkazgan, Severo-Kazakhstanskaya and Taldy-Kurgan oblasts there are members of only two nationalities in the pool of nominees for many positions in party and soviet organs.

It is clear that shortcomings such as these have accumulated over a long period of time and cannot be eliminated in just one year. We need consistent and persistent work, and it should begin at the stage where the cadre reserve is formed. The task of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms is to ensure that on the basis of analysis of past mistakes and the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee resolution correct action will be taken and constant efforts will be made to improve the representation of all the peoples and ethnic groups living in our republic in administrative organs, the party and soviet apparatus and public organizations.

The success of the planned social, economic and cultural transformations will to a decisive extent depend upon how profoundly our cadres comprehend the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee resolution concerning the need for radical change, and upon how resolutely, energetically and competently they then take action. Therefore cadres' attitude toward restructuring and toward the process of further deepening of the democratization of society as well as, of course, their concrete actions should be the main criteria in evaluation of their political and civic stance.

The transformations which the party is calling upon us to undertake require quite a different level of democracy and the practical ability to live and work under fundamentally new conditions. At the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum M. S. Gorbachev said that "...even now we find people who are just drifting along, watching the boundaries of democratization processes. Some people become nervous and caution us that democracy could turn into chaos. But look around you; what are these people worrying about? Not about problems that are of vital importance to society. More likely they are concerned about their selfish interests. Be that as it may, but for party members, especially administrators, this is a completely unacceptable position to take."



Today, at a time when the party has set a course toward all-round activation of the human factor and deepening and development of socialist democracy, demands are being made that the party itself expand intraparty democracy and, consequently, make cadre work more democratic.

In this regard one important aspect of our work is unyielding compliance with the statute in the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) concerning the electability of administrators and specialists at enterprises, production sections, shops, divisions, sectors, farms, brigades and branches, expansion of the practice of their competitive selection and placement. This will undoubtedly stimulate the activism and initiative of working people, for the question of who will head their collective is of great importance to blue-collar workers and kolkhoz members. Subsequent to the transition to full cost-accounting an enterprise's income and consequently the prosperity of individuals will depend upon administrators' ability to do their jobs and to organize production.

Our republic's party organizations have experience with open and well-publicized cadre selection, especially as concerns economic administrators. However, this form is still unfortunately not being adequately applied when secretaries of party committees and heads of soviet organs are elected. Last year only six secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms were elected on ballots of more than one candidate, and only a few chairmen and deputy chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms were so elected. On the basis of these isolated cases it would still be premature to refer to this as an established system.

We must also thoroughly review the practices by which staff members are nominated for promotion. For it is no secret that some administrators, giving little heed to the consequences, are very willing to provide positive recommendations. Later they throw up their hands and look amazed when the unqualified people recommended by them make a mess of their jobs. This happens because they take virtually no responsibility for their cadre recommendations, certain that no one will hold them responsible anyway. We must put a stop to this sort of indifference.

The certification process currently being conducted within our republic party organization on all members of the nomenklatura should erect a reliable barrier against all careerists, sycophants and individuals inclined to abuse their official positions. According to data received from party obkoms 78.2 percent of party personnel, 98 percent of soviet personnel, 94 percent of trade union personnel and 66 percent of Komsomol personnel have undergone certification.

One cannot help but notice the rising level of exactingness and uncompromising adherence to principle with which this job is being carried out. Certification commissions have found over 60 persons unfit for the positions which they hold. It has been deemed necessary

to conduct a second certification procedure on 330 staff members. However, sometimes attempts have been made to substitute indifference for adherence to principle. Some meetings of certification commissions are once again beginning to be reminiscent of the situation in a well-known fairy tale where "the cuckoo praises the cock".

One effective method of studying cadres' pros and cons is updating of their work records. As you are aware, the Kazakh CP Central Committee was the initiator of this. Its Buro alone has already verified the records of over 80 members of the nomenklatura. The same thing is being done in a systematic fashion by all party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations. Public, open discussion of business and party qualities has helped many people look at themselves critically, from others' point of view, and thereby improve themselves and overcome their shortcomings.

However, in this area as well we are still seeing relapses into formalism and encountering instances of a superficial approach to this innovation. For example, a personnel file submitted by the buro of the Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya Party Obkom upon V. L. Klinovitskiy's promotion to the post of chairman of Serebryansk Gorkom noted that he was principled, had a conscientious attitude toward his job, was attentive to people and was respected. Nevertheless soon afterward V. L. Klinovitskiy had compromised himself and been relieved of his position. It turns out that this "principled" and "conscientious" person abused his official position while he was a farm director, using without charge or, in simple terms, stealing electric power to heat his apartment.

In its personnel file on S. K. Tugelbayev upon his promotion to the post of first secretary of Embinskiy Party Raykom the Guryev Party Obkom noted that he possessed organizational ability, was able to discern what was most important in a job, was energetic, etc. One year later Tugelbayev was expelled from the CPSU for throwing a drunken party with a subordinate's money.

We all need to be well aware that without widespread criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, there can be no true democracy or genuine political creativity among the masses. Party organizations should teach people this, because the long period of stagnation has robbed many people of the desire to express their opinions openly or to feel themselves master of their enterprise, rayon, city and country.

We must help people free themselves from old stereotypes in their views of democracy, from inertia and indifference. There is no doubt that in this respect a major role has been played by meetings and plenums of party committees at which elected party organs give accounts of their work with regard to leadership in

restructuring. An absolute majority of these accounts are given in a spirit of high standards and an atmosphere of genuine partylike adherence to principle.

It was precisely this characteristic which was underscored in the numerous letters from working people received by the Kazakh CP Central Committee following its 10th Plenum. People correctly realized that the Central Committee Buro had begun criticism of the shortcomings that hamper the renewal process by first of all criticizing its own failings. And in their opinion this did not lessen its authority at all; on the contrary, it increased confidence in the course being followed in our republic today.

Under conditions of democratization the nature of criticism, its content and its orientation should also change. Through criticism one should prompt people to think seriously and subsequently to make suggestions as to what needs to be restructured and how. Recently many people have grown accustomed to criticizing shortcomings, but unfortunately there have been too few suggestions as to how we can work together to overcome those shortcomings and what means and methods we should use toward that end. This sort of one-sided criticism does not do anyone any good.

The continuing instances of suppression of criticism and persecution because of it are doing serious harm to the ideas of restructuring and to the developing democratization of public life. Sometimes this repression is so veiled that at first glance one cannot tell whether it is persecution on account of criticism or actually a case of high standards and adherence to principle.

Under present conditions party committees and organizations have an obligation to be able to discern and uncompromisingly nip in the bud any and all instances of suppression of criticism. At the same time they must also decisively rebuff attempts by slanderers to denigrate workers who are honest and dedicated to their jobs. To value and properly protect people is one of the primary concerns of party committees as they go about realizing cadre policy.

The newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA recently related an outrageous instance of repression directed by M. M. Musin, first secretary of the Zhanaarkinskiy Party Raykom (Dzhezkazgan Oblast), against K. Koyshibayev, chairman of the rayon people's control committee. On the basis of unreliable information and under pressure from the first secretary the raykom buro expelled raykom member K. Koyshibayev from the party in violation of the CPSU Charter. Furthermore, on the first secretary's orders all the primary party organizations—with enviable alacrity, on the following day—held meetings at which at single issue was discussed: K. Koyshibayev's alleged improper actions.

What sort of methods are these? Can we operate like this today? Of course not. And although justice was restored in the end, the decision of the Zhanaarkinskiy Raykom Buro overturned and the raykom first secretary punished, this case gives us food for thought. First of all about the fact that very many political leaders still lack political culture, tact and the ability to work with people under conditions of developing democracy and glasnost. Party organs should devote special attention to these aspects of the process of cadre training, because a high level of political culture on the part of leaders is an important guarantee that the democratic principles inherent in our socialist system and the standards provided for in the CPSU Charter and Soviet legislation will be complied with without exception.

The matter of administrative cadres' moral purity is an important and timely one in view of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Kazakh republic party organization. Today each person should take a careful look at himself and his work through the prism of present-day party requirements. Every administrator, more than anyone else, has an obligation to adhere to communist morality.

The struggle to uphold the pure, honest title of party member is the duty of every communist, regardless of where he works or in what position. In this connection we should pay particular attention to the new generation currently entering the ranks of the party. The process of selecting party members for our republic party organization is now assuming an ever more democratic and open nature. Last year over 89 percent of requests for admission into the CPSU were considered at open party meetings. Greater demands are being made of communists with regard to compliance with the requirements of the CPSU Charter. Party organizations are working more resolutely than before to rid themselves of individuals whose behavior compromises the title of communist. In 1986 and 1987 almost 3,000 people were expelled from the party on account of various violations.

However, there have still been no positive changes in many primary party organizations. Specifically, equality regardless of ethnic background is not everywhere the rule when new members are inducted into the party.

Obviously the problem is that some party organizations have neglected organizational and political work among non-party members and are not working to establish a reliable basis for growth of party ranks among all the ethnic groups working in a given collective. For example, in the collective of the Chuyskiy Rayon Communications Center in Dzhambul Oblast one-third of the workers are Germans, yet not one of them is a party member.

An example of a correct, internationalist approach to the filling of party ranks should be set by party committees. But how can we speak of internationalist approaches when, for example, in the apparatuses of the Kokchetav

and Severo-Kazakhstanskaya party obkoms the ideological affairs sections, headed by secretaries A. S. Kalmyrzayev and N. A. Ivanova, respectively, only work with communists of Kazakh nationality in the first instance and only with Russians in the latter? Cases such as these do not bear the slightest resemblance to Leninist traditions of political leadership by the masses or to vital approaches to internationalist education under restructuring.

The ranks of the CPSU should be filled by the most worthy and morally irreproachable comrades in strict accordance with the internationalist principle for the building of our party and in accordance with its Charter. This can only be achieved if work pertaining to party admission is conducted openly and if requests for admission to the party are discussed prior to approval at meetings of labor collectives.

The great Lenin, the leader of our state, stressed the following: "The conscientious politician stays ahead of events, the unconscientious one is dragged along by them." In order for us to be conscientious politicians we must not only fully understand the essence of the nationalities problem, but must also resolve problems that arise in a timely, swift and efficient manner. Delays only play into the hands of our ideological opponents.

It should be borne in mind that any crack in interethnic relations may be perceived as a crevice in which to turn a provocative nationalistic screwdriver. For example, in August of last year the WASHINGTON POST did not merely hint, but asserted in plain text that the USSR "has not been able to find a substitute cultural community" for its nationalities, in contrast to the United States, which supposedly represents a model solution to the nationalities problem. The value of such "profound" assertions as these is well known. It is precisely in contrast to the United States that the Land of the Soviets chose the more difficult, but also most just path: convergence of peoples, but on the basis of the flourishing of each. This is the ideal of a socialist society as stated in the CPSU Program.

Development of internationalist Soviet brotherhood in the 70 years since the October Revolution has led to the formation of a new historical community of human beings. We are the unified, multiethnic Soviet people. We have a single ideology—Marxism-Leninism; a single political system—socialism; a single economic mechanism; and a single way of life. Our sons march in the same army ranks. We all love our beloved capital, Moscow the beautiful, the historic national pride not only of the Russian people, but of all Soviet peoples. And this in no way contradicts the same ardent love that we feel for our native people, for our native language and for Alma-Ata, the capital of our sunny republic.

That is, we may say with confidence that all of us have common patriotic sentiments which blend with national sentiments and enrich them. Each person, while remaining, for instance, a Kazakh, a Russian, a Ukrainian, or a

Georgian, bears a proud name: Soviet, a citizen of the Soviet Union. This is the dialectic of internationalism. And it was very succinctly formulated by F. Engels: "...within the workers movement genuinely national ideas are simultaneously genuinely internationalist as well."

Internationalism does not preclude ethnic distinctiveness. We are all different, and that is wonderful. The striving of every human being and every people to preserve its uniqueness, its culture, language and customs, is deserving of respect. And the proper conditions must be created so that linguistic, cultural and ethnic needs are met. The principle of the dialectical unity of the national and the international should be followed in all things, including science, literature and the arts.

It is a well-known fact that objective research in the field of revolutionary theory provides people not only with a general methodology, but also with concrete, practical means and methods of overcoming difficulties and negative phenomena. Kazakhstan's social sciences have often lagged behind practical matters, behind current problems of ethnic and interethnic relations, preferring to devote attention to events that occurred a millennium ago.

This is not a reproach against antiquity. Of course the history of a people should be studied, but not to the detriment of current theoretical problems of socialism. However, it seems that the authors of the many monographs, dozens of books and hundreds of articles which have appeared in recent years have intentionally studied and described prerevolutionary Kazakh society and the clan-tribal division to the exclusion of all else, virtually ignoring a class-oriented approach to illumination of the people's history.

There has also been a large number of literary works which portray ethnic and interethnic relations incorrectly and distort the historical truth. How distant they are in spirit from the genuinely revolutionary work of internationalist writers S. Seyfullin, B. Maylin, I. Dzhan-sugurov and M. Auezov who, continuing the Abayevian tradition of truth, boldly struggled against reactionary customs and the feudal-patriarchal structure.

To this it should be added that in recent years criticism of incorrect understanding of ethnic sentiments has gradually disappeared from scientific and literary works in recent years. When such criticism is absent elements of the clan-tribe mentality are not only preserved, but actually acquire a certain status as being ethnic and supposedly a part of true Kazakh singularity. What has essentially occurred is an aberration in the criteria of ethnic values. The scientists and writers who are the national pride of our people, for example, Academician K. Satpayev and Ye. Buketov, have been either relegated to the shadows or exposed to public ridicule. Dubious authorities have taken their place.

Quite frankly, this not always healthy fascination with Kazakh uniqueness and overt self-aggrandizement cannot fail to provoke a negative reaction among members of the other ethnic groups living in this republic. But in this connection it should be noted that in an argument there is, as a rule, no one who is absolutely right or absolutely wrong. Most often both sides have a tendency to minimize their own shortcomings and mistakes. In this case as well it seems that just criticism of self-aggrandizement has been leveled in an incorrect fashion, with an obvious lack of moderation.

For example, in many letters received by the Kazakh CP Central Committee both prior to the December events and following them people of Russian, Ukrainian and other nationalities justly condemned various distortions committed by members of the Kazakh people in their evaluations of the achievements of their culture. But this was done in an intolerably harsh and even insulting form, with transparent hints made about who was backward and in what way, and who should follow whose example. One would have to be a complete fool both in political and moral terms to fail to hear chauvinistic overtones in that kind of thinking.

This quite naturally resulted in a new round of insults, this time from members of the indigenous population, saying "you live in Kazakhstan, so respect our ways and customs. We are not required to respect your traditions at all."

And, indeed, respect has not always been shown for those traditions. If there was a response to the demands of other ethnic groups, it usually consisted of half-measures which further inflamed nationalistic sentiments and passions.

For instance, a German or Korean theater might be opened or a German or Korean newspaper established, yet classes in their native language might not be provided for children, or there might be no type for the printing of Korean-language newspapers and literature. The most basic social needs of the Greek, Kurdish and Meskhetian Turkish populations in Alma-Ata and Dzhambul oblasts have not been met.

Over time the number of unresolved questions grows, with the problems of various nationalities becoming interwoven, problems of Kazakhs, Russians, Germans, Uighurs, Kurds, Koreans, etc. But each nation sees every insult and every shortcoming in its own way, through the prism of its own ethnic sentiments. And this often gives rise to the incorrect conclusion that the interests of one specific nation are being infringed upon more than those of others.

Notions of this sort are extraordinarily hardy. And we face a tremendous, truly super-difficult job of imbuing people with genuine interethnic culture. Incidentally, a recent republic scientific-practical conference was devoted to this subject. It would not be wrong to say that

many of its participants were greatly impressed not only by the scope of the issues submitted for discussion but rather, and this most of all, by the trusting, comradely, respectful atmosphere in which that discussion took place. We have matured noticeably since then, we have learned some things, and we have begun to take a partylike, in-depth mutual interest in each other's problems. This gives us reason to hope that under conditions of broad democratization of public life and through restructuring substantial progress will also be made in the culture of interethnic relations.

This was precisely what V. I. Lenin had in mind when 66 years ago he formulated the fundamental rule on attitudes toward the interests of nations. In Ilich's conception these involved maximum fulfillment of those interests, because only "a tremendous amount of attention to the interests of various peoples can create that confidence, especially among workers and peasants who speak different languages, without which neither amicable relations among peoples nor any remotely successfully development of everything that is of value in modern civilization would be possible."

Following this Leninist precept and being extremely attentive and principled when resolving matters of interethnic relations is one of the most important tasks for our republic party organization. We must not forget even for a moment that these relations are the most subtle in the whole social and psychological realm; the sensitive strings of a people's national pride can be plucked inadvertently, accidentally, completely unintentionally. We must remember that nationalism will to a large extent be deprived of the soil in which it grows if its proponents are deprived of opportunities to exploit ethnic insults and wounded pride.

Ethnic sentiments are a continuously operating mechanism, a well functioning counter which records all negative opinions of ethnic values. However, one often hears from heads of enterprises, farms and educational institutions, and even from party and soviet personnel, that problems of interethnic relations are not their concern, that supposedly "everything is in order" in their collectives or regions. For example, that was the opinion held by N. A. Drizhd, director of the Karagandaugol Association, and I. P. Shkurenko, director of the Aktyubrentgen Association, when they gave accounts before the Central Committee concerning their work with regard to patriotic and internationalist education of working people. But is the fact that the collectives headed by them have an intolerably low percentage of workers of Kazakh ethnicity not a problem? And is it not a problem that in their elective organs there are only members of two or three nationalities out of the 30-40 which comprise their collectives?

I feel that ideas like this are nothing more than an expression of the harmful philosophy held by the peasant who "never crossed himself until it thundered." Basically this is flagrant disregard for the guidelines set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress stating the fact that there are indeed nationalities problems in our society.

Leadership means foresight. And it is especially important to foresee everything connected with interethnic relations. Experience shows that a wait-and-see attitude will not yield any positive results. If our ideological institutions had not been taught not to predict and analyze the cause of acute contradictions in their initial stages many conflicts could be prevented.

Remember how many insults were uttered and how many lances were broken in debates concerning the education of children in Kazakh-language preschool facilities! And why, one may ask? What prevented the former leadership from resolving this essentially very simple matter without wasting so much breath? Simply inertia in their way of thinking and failure to comprehend the simple truth that in the realm of interethnic relations nothing is trivial.

Now new classes and groups have been established at schools and kindergartens throughout our republic, in accordance with Soviet law. And this was done upon request. And not just to teach children in Kazakh, but also in German, Uighur, Kurdish and Polish. Furthermore, the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the republic government have, as you are aware, passed special resolutions concerning improved teaching of Kazakh and Russian.

In short, the assumption was made that we do not need to debate about the need for bilingualism, but instead promote it, following the Leninist precept that schools should operate according to internationalist principles. Joint instruction of children of different nationalities in schools and preschools aid in this.

The question arises: was it necessary to dramatize events and turn this matter, so mundane in a multiethnic republic like ours, into a problem? Of course not! Especially since the "passions" stirred up in the process can only play into the hands of social demagogues. Hence a conclusion: it is essential that we learn to resolve any conflicts which arise in a timely and painless manner. And in order to do this they must be perceived, analyzed and noted, at the very least.

To a certain extent we have applied this preventive method by establishing commissions on ethnic and interethnic relations under the party's Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, as well as ethnic relations sectors in Central Committee and obkom propaganda and agitation departments. Experience proves that this was the proper course to follow.

A large unit of activists participates in the work of these commissions and sectors. Together they study the status of ethnic relations in various regions of the republic and draw up specific recommendations on ways to improve internationalist education. Within a relatively short period of time their aktiv has had quite a few positive actions and undertakings to its credit.

For example, after painstaking analysis of specific situations the recommendation was made that administrators bear personal responsibility for the moral and psychological climate in their collectives and for improvement in the level of interethnic relations culture there. Now when administrators undergo certification or have their personnel files updated it is mandatory that a comment be made concerning their ability to educate people in the spirit of internationalism.

Advice pertaining to practical solutions of problems touching the interests of a given people or ethnic group has been received in an understanding manner. For example, Russians have brought up and helped resolve problems which are of concern to Kazakhs. And vice versa.

I say all this in order to underscore the fact that we are in urgent need of the kind of research and analytical work which will permit us to constantly keep our finger on the pulse of ethnic and interethnic relations, to be in touch with people's moods, to be aware of the problems that concern them. Furthermore, we ourselves must seek out and find those problems without waiting for anyone to give us hints, so that we can solve them in a thoughtful, deliberate way instead of being forced to take stopgap measures.

This was precisely the goal of the CPSU Central Committee resolution, which correctly stresses that work to improve the situation and to establish order in our republic is still not being conducted with the proper scope or depth; all branches of the republic party organization, state organs, trade unions, the Komsomol, labor collectives, creative organizations, scientific establishments and educational institutions are still not participating actively enough in this work.

On the basis of this CPSU Central Committee guideline our republic has expanded to the maximum the practice of applying accumulated experience and has commenced the creation of an all-republic system for the management of ethnic and interethnic relations and internationalist and patriotic education of the public.

Using currently available personnel soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs have set up sections or working groups of three to five persons, as well as volunteer commissions, whose objective is to study ethnic and interethnic problems and solve them within the limits of each organ's jurisdiction.

The commission under the Kazakh CP Central Committee has the functions of coordinating the operations of these sections and commissions under public organizations and ensuring proper representation of persons of various ethnic groups in public and state organs.

Each of the newly established formations has quite specific, individualized tasks. Thus, the republic Supreme Soviet's commission works to protect the constitutional rights of each people and ethnic group living in Kazakhstan and also studies and summarizes experience with the practical application of legislation on ethnic matters.

In the KaSSR Council of Ministers coordination of work on ethnic and interethnic relations is the duty of the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of our republic Gosplan. His jurisdiction covers realization of specific social and economic measures that take into account the needs of all the ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan. This includes the construction of schools, kindergartens, hospitals, clubs, theaters and museums, the establishment of classes and special groups for language study, etc. In short, the creation of the physical base which is essential for successful resolution of problems that arise.

The attention of the corresponding commission under the KaSSR Komsomol Central Committee is focused on matters of the internationalist and patriotic education of young people concerning the revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the party, the working class, the working peasantry and the intelligentsia, as well as development of effective methods of influencing students and school children to participate actively in public and labor-related affairs. The Komsomol should pay more serious attention to the problems of teenagers and informal youth organizations and make a substantial contribution toward eradication of the causes of juvenile crime.

Working groups and commissions on ethnic and interethnic affairs under trade unions have jurisdiction over a broad range of political and social problems. First and foremost this means formation of ethnic units of the working class, organization of socialist competition within multiethnic labor collectives and between related enterprises from different regions of the country, and involvement of each brigade or member of a labor collective, shop or section in such competition.

Other important issues are ensuring working people's professional and creative growth and bringing people of various nationalities closer together through practical work to fulfill plans and delivery contracts, the rendering of mutual assistance to each other in acquiring a profession and familiarization with fraternal ethnic cultures through on-the-job contacts.

Raising people's living standard, including that of members of ethnic minorities and all ethnic groups, should be trade unions' priority concern. In this regard they face a complex of problems relative to housing and the food supply, recreational opportunities, improvement of medical services and the struggle against unsanitary conditions, disease and infant mortality. Much work must be done to get the population of areas with labor

surpluses, women in particular, employed in public production. The rendering of maximum assistance to large families is an important task. All these things are priority areas for affirmation of the principles of social justice.

As you can see, a tremendous amount of work lies ahead. And it can only be done together, with everyone's help. That is why it is very important that we organize the smooth functioning of all branches of a system for administering ethnic and interethnic relations in both a horizontal and a vertical direction. This means that appropriate commissions, sections and working groups must be established at all levels—oblast, city, rayon, and the primary level.

Their duties will include systematic consultations with citizens who turn to them for assistance with ethnic matters, just as is done with regard to housing, in the operations of court institutions and in other areas which are of concern to the public. These methods should become a standard of public life, precluding any cases of reticence, embarrassment or timidity.

We are certain that all this will help us project solutions to urgent ethnic and interethnic problems without waiting for them to reach the courts, as was previously the case, and will allow us to work aggressively rather than tagging along behind events. For it is precisely through projections and timely intervention in various processes of ethnic relations that we have succeeded in solving a number of urgent problems in the social realm.

For example, specific measures have been taken to improve working people's housing and cultural and living conditions. The material-technical base of education, health care and cultural institutions has been strengthened. During the past year plans for the construction of schools, kindergartens, vocational and technical schools, hospitals and clinics have been fulfilled, and clubs and houses of culture have been built at a volume greater by a factor of 1.5 than in 1986. Construction is currently proceeding successfully.

Real change for the better has also occurred with regard to the food supply. Thanks to careful attention by party and soviet organs and our republic Gosagroprom to fodder supply and thanks to selfless labor by rural workers the quantity of fodder units procured last year reached a record level—17 million! This had an immediate effect on end results: per capital consumption of meat products in our republic has increased by six kilograms in two years. So that you can fully appreciate this accomplishment, I would like to note that this figure increased by only two kilograms over the entire decade of 1975-1985.

Of course this is cause for joy. However, much work remains to be done. In accordance with the letter and

spirit of the CPSU Central Committee resolution we are obligated to:

**Firstly, expand Kazakhstan's contribution to our country's unified economic complex and constantly increase the yield from its scientific- production potential.**

In this connection it should be noted that the economy of our country and the economy of our republic form one complex but interconnected economic organism. The KaSSR supplies the fraternal republics with rolled ferrous metal stock, iron, coke, non-ferrous metals, chemicals, rubber products, fertilizer, electrical equipment, building materials and machinery. In return our republic's enterprises receive equipment, motor vehicles, agricultural machinery, electronics, many other types of equipment and batch items from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Central Asia, the Baltic republics, the Transcaucasus region and other areas. It is through the delivery of these goods that our entire country participates in, for instance, the establishment and development of our republic's ore mining and fuel-energy base, while Kazakhstan's shipments help strengthen the economies of other republics.

The growing scale and complexity of economic tasks has given greater significance to specialization and cooperation, and strict observance of delivery discipline has become the pivotal point upon which plans balance. However, as has already been noted, violations of this discipline have become systematic, and our republic is constantly disappointing its subcontractors in other republics.

During the first quarter of 1988 the situation with regard to fulfillment of contractual delivery obligations improved markedly, with a 99.5 percent fulfillment rate during that period as opposed to 97.4 percent during the same period of the preceding year. The total volume of undelivered goods fell from 162.5 to 35.7 million rubles, declining by a factor of 4.5.

Our contribution to the country's unified economic complex largely depends upon how purposefully we work to improve our industrial production structure. As you are aware, in recent years industrial development in our republic has been heavily oriented toward development of the extractive sectors, which are noted for the high volume of capital investment they require and for their long investment cycle.

However, the low level of the manufacturing sectors, machine building in particular, and an insufficient percentage of production facilities producing finished goods lead to an imbalance in the monetary value of imported and exported goods. Consumer goods production has not been properly developed, with 60 percent of the demand for such goods being met with imports from other regions of the country.

The current lag with regard to the development of enterprises which produce finished goods as well as an inadequate rate of industrialization of public production have led to a situation in which industry in our republic produces only 29.3 percent of national income, as compared to 45.6 percent throughout the USSR as a whole.

It should also be noted that the idea persists that someone supposedly has an "interest" in our republic not developing finished-goods production or modern, high-tech industrial sectors, preferring instead for it to maintain its status as our country's raw materials supplier. This notion will not stand up to criticism.

Indeed, Kazakhstan's inexhaustible supply of mineral wealth is one of our Motherland's national treasures. And it would be simply ludicrous not to make use of what nature has so generously bestowed upon our republic. But it is absolutely false to equate development of the extractive sectors with some mythical discriminatory policy supposedly imposed by the central organs. On the contrary, the fact that the existing structure of public production in our republic is outdated and is not in step with the spirit of the times is to a large extent the result of our own heedlessness.

Our republic's narrow specialization has had a negative effect not only on the amount of national income we receive. It has created a surplus of labor resources, low esteem for the blue-collar professions among young people and a whole bundle of other social problems. Furthermore, the lack of modern industrial sectors has also slowed the development of science in Kazakhstan.

There is an urgent need for energetic measures to rectify this situation. And the most substantive structural changes in industrial production should be linked with rapid growth in the machine building industry. This growth should be oriented toward meeting the needs of the agroindustrial complex for a system of machinery for cattle breeding, fodder production and grain production, as well as toward providing equipment for light industry and the food industry. At the same time priority will be given to development of instrument building, electronics and other high-tech sectors.

The formation of an ethnic working class structure is another question. We must take care to ensure that form does not prevail over content in this highly important matter. What specifically do I mean by that? Today sectors such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and the coal industry have all the workers they need. We must not start shifting cadres around merely for the purpose of artificially creating jobs for Kazakhs or members of other nationalities.

On the other hand, in agriculture Kazakhs comprise 52 percent of the total number of workers, and there is a labor shortage in that sector. There has not been a single harvest period in which we could have managed without help from workers employed in the industrial sectors. In this situation does it make any sense to "pump" people from agriculture into industry?



What I have said is not intended as a reproach against any specific ethnic group. Our social policy will continue to be structured in such a way that the ethnic structure of both the blue-collar work force and the agricultural work force will become ever more internationalized. We have more than adequate opportunities for bringing this about. For example, despite the availability of jobs in the machine building, light and local industries there are approximately 300,000 people in our republic who are not employed in public production. Our main task is to make use of these human resources.

It is no less important that we bring the jobs to the people, i.e., do everything possible to develop a broad network of branch enterprises producing consumer goods in those regions which have a labor surplus. We have tackled this problem seriously and beginning this year the volume of consumer goods production and provision of paid services will be increased by 20 percent.

The working class in industrial sectors should be augmented not only with Kazakhs, but also with Germans, Uighurs, Koreans, Uzbeks and members of other ethnic groups. Incidentally, this was envisioned by the three-year long-range program developed by the republic State Committee on Labor and Social Problems. That program envisions gradual placement of members of various ethnic groups in jobs which become vacant in our republic as the result of natural cadre turnover.

In order to carry out this program successfully it is essential that we work persistently to assert the principle of having every young person begin his or her work history with a blue-collar job. We must ensure that all young men and women undergo class tempering in labor collectives. It is essential that this factor be taken into consideration in connection with VUZ admissions and later job promotions. Simply speaking, if one has not worked in a collective and has not experienced all the difficulties of practical life, then one should not do administrative work, much less party, soviet and trade union work.

**The second task set by the CPSU Central Committee resolution is to bring about radical restructuring of the system of work with cadres and work resolutely to eradicate protectionism and the vicious practice of selecting personnel on the basis of their clan, zhuz or regional affiliations.**

Formerly it was typical that if a job held by, for instance, a Russian became vacant then a Russian was also selected to fill that vacancy, even if a person from another ethnic group was better trained for the job. That is, an automatic approach to the "inheritance" of positions was taken, in flagrant violation of the principles of fairness.

We must also take the ethnic composition of the administrative branch into account today, yet in a more clear-cut fashion than in the past. But we must exclude the canonization of certain posts on the basis of ethnic background from our cadre policy. That is the approach being taken in our republic at this time, and it is already yielding some positive results. Logically an administrator's first deputy should be better trained than others to hold the top job. And thus if it becomes necessary he is the one we promote, no longer resorting to weak excuses like, oh, pardon us, but we are promoting another worker ahead of you; he may be more poorly trained than you, but he does belong to the right ethnic group.

Having begun an uncompromising struggle against all the forms of the many-guised protectionism, nepotism and regional preference, we are realizing more and more that unaccustomed approaches to matters of ethnic and interethnic relations are removing the former reticence with regard to solving them. The members of any specific people can, without fear of being accused of bias, work to protect the interests of a group to which they themselves do not belong. This allows them to avoid possible accusations of nationalism and become an inexhaustible source for reinforcement of interethnic trust, openness, creative intercourse and mutual concern for the flourishing and unity of peoples.

However, the situation is still far from the point where we may simply stand back and applaud one another. We still have work to do. But one cannot fail to notice that thanks to these unaccustomed approaches to regulation of interethnic relations we have succeeded in bringing about a significant improvement in the atmosphere in our republic within a short period of time.

Of course, these measures alone will not suffice. When it was necessary to use our power, we were not timid about doing so. In accordance with the decisions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum the Kazakh CP Central Committee set a course toward purging the apparatus of the procuracy, militia, justice system and courts of remiss, compromised staff members and toward filling the ranks of all of its branches with politically mature, internationalistically trained and devoted party cadres.

A total of 15 percent of all administrative personnel in the procuracy and in internal affairs organs have been either fired or demoted, as have 80 percent of all heads of justice divisions and chairmen of oblast lawyers' boards. In elections held last June 24 percent of all judges were replaced. The leadership of the procuracy, justice department and courts in Alma-Ata has been shored up, along with the procuracy of Mangyshlaksaya Oblast, the Dzhabul and Chimkent internal affairs administrations, the justice divisions of the Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya, Semipalatinsk and Chimkent oblispolkoms, oblast courts in Dzhabul, Pavlodarsk and Severo-Kazakhstanskaya oblasts, and a substantial portion of city and rayon law enforcement departments.



We must further expand efforts to clean up law enforcement organs and increase their contribution to restructuring. Social justice must prevail and law and order must be established in every city and every town.

Decisive efforts must be made to put an end to the situation in which the struggle against bribery and corruption has been conducted primarily by all-union and republic organs, while it has been business as usual at the local level. We will not achieve much like that, and no amount of on-site inspection groups and brigades will suffice to eradicate entirely these shameful things. Yet some people still regard help from the center as unnecessary interference and ask that we not cause any trouble, that efforts to expose those who accept bribes and other rogues should be halted, as they supposedly cause nervousness, terrorize people, etc.

What are these oblast and rayon leaders worried about? Whose peace and quiet are they protecting? If they are so opposed to outside interference, then why do they not do the job themselves? But without false "modesty" and a tendency to protect their own sections. We will continue to reserve the right to the strictest monitoring of local efforts to prosecute these serious crimes against society. So those who are hoping that we will slacken in this struggle can bid that idea good-bye.

Yet another important point: formerly efforts to eradicate crime often relied in a completely unjustified manner on the most powerful means at the disposal of law enforcement organs: imprisonment. With this approach it seemed that no crime prevention work was necessary. So year after year our prison population grew and the number of crimes committed increased, particularly among young people and teenagers.

It is clear that this cannot continue, especially in view of restructuring, which has brought about and continues to bring about significant changes in the public consciousness. The process of renewal which has deeply affected all areas of our economic and social lives has at the same time been an active factor in humanization of our lives. Educational and preventive measures have been given objective priority in the struggle against crime. Perhaps this will come as a surprise to some people, but the reduced rate of prison sentences handed down has resulted in a sharp reduction in crime in our republic. Is this not an example in support of the positive changes taking place in society?

This means that the most careful attention must now be devoted to crime prevention efforts. In an atmosphere of broad democratization, glasnost and rebirth of the people's moral forces such work has fertile ground and a realistic basis. However, this approach does not mean that we are tending to look at reality through rose-tinted glasses. There can be no leniency with regard to those who commit serious felonies or are repeat offenders. They must be punished to the full extent of the law.

In order to successfully perform this task party obkoms must take firm control of the struggle against crime and get the entire public and the mass media involved, and create the kind of moral atmosphere which presents an obstacle to criminal activity. And against this social backdrop the crime prevention efforts of the procuracy, courts, justice department and internal affairs organs should also be stepped up.

In the restructuring process our republic party committees have begun to deal more systematically with the matters of public military-patriotic education and civil defense work. However, there are still serious shortcomings and mistakes in the way we prepare our young people for military service.

More and more young men are being sent to the armed forces without proper fluency in Russian. There are still many "blemishes" in efforts to improve the draftee contingent. In this respect the situation is especially bad in Chimkent, Kzyl-Orda, Semipalatinsk and a number of other oblasts.

The causes of these shortcomings lie in poor coordination by party committees of the work of all the organizations and departments involved in this matter. Komсомol and DOSAAF committees are not assuming the vanguard role in military-patriotic education; they spend more time carrying out effective measures involving a limited number of participants.

I would like to remind you that the responsibility for coordination of work to train worthy defenders of our Motherland rests upon party committees and upon secretaries in charge of ideological matters personally.

**The third direction in our work in light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee resolution is to ensure that all means of propaganda and mass political work convincingly explain the objective nature of the process of deepening internationalism in all areas of public life.**

As already noted, ideological work in our republic has been thoroughly neglected. Both the Central Committee and the Alma-Ata, Dzhambul, Tselinograd, Chimkent and other party obkoms have not dealt with matters pertaining to internationalist and patriotic education for a period of six to 10 years. The primitive notion that supposedly ethnic relations can be improved through lectures, report, theoretical conferences, newspaper articles, etc. alone has predominated.

Our approaches to restructuring of this work are well known and have already been listed in the report. But I would like to dwell a moment on some matters which are not often discussed. These are the elimination of vestiges of the feudal past, affirmation of ethnic-Russian bilingualism and ecological problems.

I would like to note that in the period of the 1920's through the 1950's Kazakhstan's communists, fully aware of the difficulty of establishing new, socialist social relationships, struggled continuously and persistently to liberate women, abolish the practice of paying the bride price [kalym], end polygamy and get rid of certain conservative ethnic traditions, customs and rituals which hampered the people on their path to socialist civilization. Scientific research was done and discussions held to determine which customs and traditions should be considered progressive and which were outmoded.

Beginning in the 1960's this subject disappeared from intellectual circles in our republic. The term "nationalism" disappeared along with the phrase "vestiges of the feudal past." But by no means all elements of the clan-tribal mentality had been eliminated. They became a breeding ground for the rebirth of nationalistic factions and all sorts of distortions in people's minds. In Kazakhstan the existence of clans, tribes and zhuz and clan, tribal and zhuz relationships is still an unfortunate reality. We have not even done away with the practice of kalym.

The absence of struggle against feudal vestiges and distortion of our criteria in approaches to ethnic customs and traditions has had an extremely negative result. Essentially religious precepts have replaced values which are truly ethnic in nature. Over the past 10 years the number of funerals performed following the "zhanaz" ritual has increased by a factor of three, and in rural areas virtually all burials are performed according to this Muslim ritual. There has also been an increase in the number of religious weddings and baptisms. Cemeteries have begun to be divided up on the basis of ethnic or religious affiliation.

Who here knows how the cemetery in Alma-Ata is divided up? The administrators of the city of Chelkar in Aktyubinsk Oblast did not even bother to reply to that question. Everything is clear there: there are two Christian cemeteries (an old one and a new one), a Tatar (or Nogay) cemetery, and several Kazakh cemeteries (divided by clan): for the Tleu, Zhakaim, Karakesek, Tortkara and Kabak. Looking at these it is very easy to tell which clan is "richer" and "more prominent," judging by who has the most luxurious monuments.

To our shame communists and frequently responsible party officials as well also participate in this "competition." Even those who consider themselves atheists and feel that they are doing atheistic work among working people are drawn into the web of religion. And the reason for this is the lack of selectivity with regard to ethnic traditions, the absence of efforts to combat outdated and reactionary customs or feudal and religious holdovers.

We are in favor of respecting people's sensibilities regardless of their religious affiliation. But if certain religious dogmas sow mistrust among the members of various nationalities and perpetuate hostile attitudes

between believers, then we are opposed to that. Indeed, who needs customs and traditions that divide people instead of unifying them? An ethnic custom is good if people of other ethnic groups can join in it. If it separates one people from other peoples then it is bad. Supporting customs which shut a people off from outsiders and preserve outdated traditions and habits hinders the progress of a people and takes that people back to the depth of the Middle Ages.

The Writers' Union, the Union of Journalists, the Znaniye [Knowledge] Society and other cultural institutions should play a major role in work to establish common Soviet customs and to promote the traditions of free thought. The field of action in this respect is huge, virgin soil, one might say. Because, although we may have indeed achieved tangible, substantial results with regard to some points in the CPSU Central Committee resolution, and people have really felt positive changes in the areas of housing construction and food supply, we have nothing to boast about yet in the area of atheistic work or the affirmation of a healthy moral and psychological climate. I would even go so far as to say that in this highly important sector of ideological work there have been no changes whatsoever; in this respect the "period of stagnation" continues as before.

We must make fundamental changes in our approach to antireligious propaganda, organizing it in such a way that it will in no way offend believers' sensibilities, but will instead affect their minds and hearts. I am not talking about increasing the number of lectures and reports on atheistic subjects; there does not seem to be any shortage of those. What is needed is individualized, truly effective work with people; there is no room for ideological stereotypes in such work. We must, as M. S. Gorbachev has said, fully restore Leninist principles in our attitudes toward religion and believers. Attitudes toward believers should serve to strengthen unity among all working people, among our entire people.

One acute interethnic problem is the language problem. It is quite understandable that it has arisen at the present stage, since the tumultuous process of development of ethnic self-awareness gives rise to increased interest in language not only as a means of communication but also as an important symbol of the existence of a people and their spiritual values.

In this connection concern for the development of an ethnic language and at times well-founded alarm concerning their continued survival, these fears resulting from certain subjective distortions which hamper its development, are worthy of our deepest understanding and all-round support. For there are not and cannot be any "secondary" languages or "second-rate" cultures in our society; each culture is of the greatest independent value, even if only on account of the fact that it is unique and irreplaceable.

The laudable striving of peoples to preserve their own linguistic culture combined with the objective necessity of having a means of interethnic communication has resulted in bilingualism, knowledge of both an ethnic language and Russian; this is the main thrust of our language policy. But whereas no one today doubts the correctness of this orientation, the means with which it is asserted often provoke disagreement.

For instance, the idea has been brought up that the Kazakh language should be made the "official" language of our republic, and hence mandatory for all.

Let me say at once that this formulation of the question is not new. In a reply to his opponents V. I. Lenin wrote in his work "Theses on the Nationalities Question" that "social democracy demands absolute equality among nationalities and oppose any privileges whatsoever that favor one or more nationalities. Specifically, social democracy rejects the idea of an 'official language.'"

There is no doubt that language questions are very important and they do need to be resolved, but it is more important that arguments about language not hamper the search for solutions to our society's economic, social and other problems. We are in favor of having every citizen of Kazakhstan study the language of the members of other peoples living around him or her. This is intellectually enriching. Efforts in this direction must be supported and developed. And in no case should carelessness be permitted with regard to such matters. If, for example, one region has a shortage of ethnic-language teachers and too few textbooks, and another has no type for the printing of newspapers and literature in an ethnic language, then whose fault is that? Primarily those officials whose duty it is to solve these problems, but who have not done so.

So let us ask them why there are not enough teachers and translators of Kazakh, Korean, German, Azeri and Uighur, why is there a shortage of typewriters capable of printing the various alphabets? And we should not only ask, but also work together to eliminate all the current shortcomings. I am certain that we are fully equal to this task. This is a matter of our democracy, of conscience and will.

Ecology is also one of the "painful" questions which influence the status of interethnic relations. The question should be formulated thus: protection of the environment equals protection of our national wealth. If there is a lack of proper concern for our national wealth, then it is quite natural for people to become dissatisfied, and with good reason. On the other hand, manifestations of concern for nature evoke a sense of profound satisfaction for everyone, regardless of their ethnic background.

Any person reacts strongly to the causes of ecological destruction in a place where his ancestors have lived for decades and centuries. Whether he be a Kazakh, a Russian, a German, a Uighur or a Korean. That is why

letters received by the Central Committee contain so many reproaches concerning the irrational development of certain heavy industrial sectors, especially ones like ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, mining enterprises, the fuel industry, etc.

For example, there have been repeated complaints concerning the constant emissions from State Regional Power Stations #1 and #2 in Ekibastuz. There the decision was made to raise the smokestacks instead of installing filtration devices. This has kept the ash from falling straight down on the heads of people in Ekibastuz, falling instead on their neighbors in the steppe.

Many complaints have been received concerning failure to fill in mine shafts in Karaganda coal basin, which has resulted in subsidence of the overlying soil. This has necessitated the removal of perfectly usable buildings. The same is typical around copper mines in Dzherzhskan Oblast. And in that region the delay in filling in mine shafts has been very long—three or four decades.

We are concerned by foot-dragging relative to the problem of the Aral Sea. Essentially the problem is that the rivers flowing into the Aral Sea have been mercilessly exploited for the sake of the seemingly laudable goal of expanding cropland through irrigation of new areas. Due to this water use the water level in the Aral Sea has begun to drop sharply, resulting in serious ecological damage.

It should be noted that this problem is by no means of merely a regional nature. Scientists and specialists from all parts of the country should work to find a solution to it. That is why currently efforts to find ways to save the Aral Sea are being conducted under the aegis of the USSR Council of Ministers. One must assume that in the near future we will receive reliable, well-deliberated recommendations by which we can avert the catastrophe threatening this unique natural body of water.

In addition we must do everything we can to expand the role and increase the effectiveness of our republic's environmental protection organs. Thus far we have not been very satisfied with the results of their work, despite the fact that they have rights and broad powers. All they need do is do their duty honestly and persistently.

There is also another matter which I would like to discuss briefly. It concerns the work of the mass media. If we compare the situation in this area with that of a year or two ago then the progress that has been made is evident. The range of problems discussed in the press and on television and radio has expanded markedly, and now includes nationalism and interethnic relations. However it would still be premature to assert that journalism in Kazakhstan has been completely restructured. Many current, pressing issues are still being raised too timidly, with many a backward glance. In any case, our press has still not acquired a genuine revolutionary spirit and an adequate sense of concern for our republic.

Now, at a time when Soviet society is at a crucial and extremely responsible stage of its development, when a tumultuous process of economic and moral rebirth is underway, the people expect more effective support from the mass media. The molding of an activist stance in life on the part of the masses and their ability to work resolutely to overcome resistance by the forces which are hampering positive change will to a large extent depend upon the civic spirit and boldness of journalists and editors and their uncompromising attitude toward any and all manifestations of old, outdated thinking.

As it appeals for a difficult struggle to promote the ideas and practices of restructuring and renewal of all aspects of our lives, a struggle which at times takes courage, the party guarantees the press its full assistance, to be rendered with the full might of party influence and authority.

To sum up what I have said, one can conclude that our republic party organization has found the causes of the negative phenomena of the recent past, has accepted in a fully responsible manner the criticism contained in the CPSU Central Committee resolution and has put forth a program of economic, social and educational measures which will exclude manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism and philistinism from interethnic relations. This program is designed to strengthen friendship among peoples and foster the political unity of all the peoples living in Kazakhstan.

Among the proposed measures are guarantees of a greater contribution by our republic to the all-union economy, strengthening of the ethnic units of our working class and elimination of current distortions in the ethnic composition of students in higher education and certain categories of jobs. Significant steps have been taken toward ensuring that the members of various peoples and ethnic groups are properly represented in the organs of governance and administration and that internationalist and patriotic education will be more effective.

We have made some progress toward improvement of the food supply, solution of the housing problem and elimination of violations of law and order and deviations from social justice. The struggle against cadre policy distortions is proceeding on a broad scale.

This comprehensive approach to acute problems has permitted comparatively rapid correction of the previous situation and made it possible to channel development of ethnic and interethnic relations into the proper direction.

Even now the process of revolutionary renewal of society is having an ever greater effect on the situation in our republic and is assuming tangible, qualitatively new features. However, we must be fully aware that we are still only setting out on this road; we are just now setting into motion the mechanism and means of restructuring

and we have merely sketched the contours of the civilization with which we will enter the 21st century. And in this regard it is important that we work persistently and constantly to reach new heights of internationalism, while remaining firmly rooted in reality, neither exaggerating nor understating our accomplishments.

This is the imperative of the Great October Revolution, this is an objective requirement of continuing, ever deeper socialist revolution.

### Plenum Discussion

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in Russian 7 Jun 88 pp 2-4*

[Speeches to 12th Plenum of Kazakh CP Central Committee by M. S. Mendybayev, first secretary of Alma-Ata Party Obkom, Yu. N. Trofimov, first secretary of Akt'yubinsk Party Obkom, A. K. Zhakupov, first secretary of Dzhambul Party Obkom, A. G. Braun, first secretary of Tselinograd Party Obkom, V. M. Miroshnik, KaSSR KGB chairman, K. B. Boztayev, first secretary of Semipalatinsk Party Obkom, and K. A. Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of KaSSR Gosplan: "Speeches in Discussion at the 12th Plenum of the KaSSR CP Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] M. S. Mendybayev, first secretary of the Alma-Ata Party Obkom:

Today for the first time in many years we have considered in depth and in a purposeful manner a matter which has for a long time been under what was essentially an unwritten ban. Deprived of critical analysis, this matter brought itself to our attention in a most public way, as you are aware.

Now we all realize that under conditions of restructuring, democratization and glasnost it is simply impossible to make any progress without intensification of internationalist education and a higher level of ideological work. To quote M. S. Gorbachev, this is a most fundamental, vital question for our entire society. And it is no coincidence that each of us has repeatedly returned to this difficult problem, pondering how to solve it in the quickest and most efficient way possible and what specifically needs to be done in order to comply with the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on the KaSSR party organization.

As you are aware, inspiring feelings of internationalism and strengthening interethnic relations is a painstaking task and not one that is quickly done. But perhaps the most important part of this task is already done: we have learned political lessons, shed light on the causes and consequences of past mistakes, evaluated the status and level of all our work with regard to internationalist and patriotic education and defined concrete orientations for further improvement of that work.

Quite a few organizational measures have been taken during this period. Efforts have concentrated primarily on elimination of cadre policy distortions and proper representation of peoples and ethnic groups in elected organs; there has been some progress made in enrichment of intellectual life.

Nevertheless it must be stated frankly that internationalist and patriotic educational work is not yet being done on the proper scale or with the proper depth. Too many things are still tangled in the roots of the past, the force of inertia remains strong, as does blind faith in paperwork, and dogmatic thinking continues to operate to the detriment of real, specific organizational work.

Despite the overall calm and normal atmosphere we are still seeing some instances of chauvinism and nationalistic attacks, distortion of interethnic relations and exploitation of ethnic sentiments and clan-tribal traditions. And this, as you know, has led in the past and in some places today leads only to protectionism and many other detrimental phenomena.

At a recent party obkom plenum we carefully considered all shortcomings of this nature and determined what measures needed to be taken. The December abscess and its current consequences did not come into being in a single year. G. V. Kolbin's report clearly revealed the political and social causes which in the end led to such unfortunate events. I would like to add one detail to what he said. Analysis indicates that many party and soviet workers, including ideological secretaries and heads of propaganda and agitation departments, have proven when tested to be toothless, poorly-trained internationalists, unprepared for real, uncompromising struggle. And it was quite proper that following the December events a harsh, principled evaluation of the Alma-Ata Obkom and the Alma-Ata Gorkom was given and a number of secretaries, department chiefs, VUZ rectors and other responsible officials fired.

However, this is also a legitimate question: does not the staff of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, who then had and continue to have direct responsibility in this matter, also deserve to be held seriously accountable for what happened? Why did they come out of this completely unscathed, why was not a single harsh word directed at them? Why were they, and comrades Kamalidenov and Ustinov in particular, poorly informed about and had little influence on the situation, and why did they not take radical measures to improve work with ideological cadres? Why are they still dragging their feet when it comes to resolving highly important matters? Is it acceptable that one-and-a-half years have passed and we still do not have a system for administering ideological work, that we talk about the language problem yet make very few effective decisions aimed at solving it? One does not sense any substantial progress toward fostering internationalist convictions among students and school children or in labor collectives.

It is clear that success will depend upon specific work at the local level and upon our own efforts most of all. But nevertheless the departments of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, and the Propaganda and Agitation Department most of all, have an obligation to set the tone in restructuring of ideological work and to coordinate the activities of all party committees, creative unions and cultural and educational institutions, directing them toward attainment of a single objective: all-round teaching of a high level of interethnic relations culture.

Unfortunately, at the present time these are nothing more than good intentions. One does not sense the influence even of the Central Committee's Interethnic Relations Sector, which is quite capable of making specific recommendations based on analysis of the specific conditions prevailing in a given region. It is also a complete mystery for what specific actions or initiative Comrade Ustinov was recommended for and elected to the position of chairman of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission on Ethnic Relations. Incidentally, this commission should probably have been established long ago.

In general, if we evaluate the present situation using higher criteria, as required by the CPSU Central Committee resolution, then it is not difficult to see that restructuring of ideological work in our republic has assumed a clearly protracted nature and the costs of educational work are not becoming any less. As before there is pursuit of quotas and general mass events to the detriment of a differentiated, individualized approach and consolidation of efforts in the weakest and most neglected sectors. In addition many ideological workers continue to be uncritical in evaluations of their own work, do not bother with in-depth analysis, thought or the search for new approaches and innovative solutions.

Communists speaking at a plenum of the Alma-Ata Party Gorkom emphasized that internationalist education requires a special approach. Wherever it is conducted in a crude, straight-line manner, without knowledge of the existing moral and psychological climate, without consideration for public opinion and working people's needs, there is no reason to expect positive results. Dry, forced words, cliches and a didactic style do not touch people's hearts; more likely they will harm the beginning that has already been made. In other words, the problem is how to bring about substantial improvement in the quality of work; in our republic very, very little attention is being devoted to this.

That is why the matter of organizing special instruction for ideological workers is such a pressing one. They must be taught the Leninist concept on various problems and the ability to convince and to carry on a specific, businesslike and enthusiastic dialogue. And if we are serious about instruction and improvement of skills, then we need to do this on a unified front, on a high level,

using advanced methodology. It seems obvious to us that the organization of this important task should be handled by the KaSSR CP Central Committee's Propaganda and Agitation Department.

Today G. V. Kolbin criticized us for shortcomings in the operations of schools and higher and secondary educational institutions. Quite frankly, he was fully justified in doing so. And the matter was framed in an unambiguous manner: a party committee is responsible for the way schools teach, and it is doubly responsible for the values that they instill.

We have already thoroughly discussed this at the obkom buro on the basis of accounts submitted by a number of party committees, VUZ rectors and school directors. In the near future the whole range of such problems will be discussed at a meeting of our oblast party aktiv.

It is a well-known fact that there is no such thing as a nationalities problem in and of itself. It is closely interwoven with sociopolitical, economic and moral aspects. Therefore the basis for strengthening friendship among peoples and instilling feelings of genuine internationalism should be a continuously developing economy and constant efforts to expand the contribution made by each region to our country's unified economic complex.

Our oblast has made some progress in this direction. Progress has been made in industry and construction, and transportation, communications and the service sector have undergone further development. For the first time in a long time our two-and-a-half year plan for procurement of meat, milk, wool and eggs has been overfulfilled, and our three-year plan for the sale of grain to the state was completed in two years.

There has also been an improvement in people's working and living conditions. In our opinion one important achievement in this respect has been realization of the "Housing-91" Program. Within one-and-a-half years almost one-fifth of all the families on the waiting list on 1 January 1987 had improved their living conditions. But the social realm is still our oblast's most difficult and acute problem. Even in Alma-Ata clinics and medical rooms are overcrowded by a factor of more than three, and over 10,000 children cannot attend kindergarten or nursery school. One school in five is operating on a three-shift schedule. The situation in rural areas is even worse.

At the present time our oblast is carrying out a series of social and economic measures designed to improve this situation. However, our party obkom also feels that it is high time for the republic government to consider a long-range plan for the development of the capital and the oblast around it, giving consideration to rational placement of industrial and social facilities, taking into account not only the people's labor, day-to-day activities and recreation, but also ways of improving the ecological situation.

Currently our oblast, like the country as a whole, is conducting broad, enthusiastic discussion of the theses published by the CPSU Central Committee in anticipation of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Our party obkom is receiving quite a few specific, businesslike suggestions, including some on problems of internationalist and patriotic education. For example, one of the levers proposed for this purpose is clear formulation of the legal aspects of ethnic and interethnic relations. And with good reason. For instance, if certain individuals take all sorts of liberties, offending the dignity of a person of another ethnic group, then those individuals must of course be severely punished. It was V. I. Lenin who said that there are no people without ethnic traits. And we need to take this into account not just in words, but also in deeds, working at all times and places to strengthen brotherhood among the peoples of the USSR. This is our duty as party members. It is required of us by the CPSU Central Committee resolution which we are discussing here today, toward implementation of which we must direct new and more effective efforts.

Yu. N. Trofimov, first secretary of Aktyubinsk Party Obkom:

Restructuring, the direct continuation of the Great October Revolution and an objectively necessary stage in the development of Soviet society, has been taken to heart by all the people and has the fervent support of people of good will abroad. Since the memorable April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum the party has accomplished a great deal in breaking out into the open expanses of glasnost and democratization, giving restructuring a revolutionary nature, orienting thinking and actions, improving the social atmosphere and arming the masses with a realization of the historical necessity of more complete utilization and purposeful, dynamic expansion of the potential of socialism.

The May 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and universal, public discussion of the Central Committee's theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference are renewed evidence of this. Soviet people are noticing positive changes in the search for solutions to the most urgent problems, especially with regard to the provision of housing, food and consumer goods. The same visible changes are also taking place with regard to improvement of ethnic and interethnic relations.

We agree with the main points and conclusions contained in G. V. Kolbin's report and support and approve of them. The working people of Aktyubinsk Oblast have something to say concerning the deep roots and sources of friendship between the Kazakh and Russian peoples. It was in their territory, at the town of Maytubye, that an act of voluntary expression of will took place in 1731: the joining of Kazakhstan to Russia. Experience has shown that this choice was an historically correct phenomenon for which the economic, political and social preconditions had been laid down over the centuries.

On the basis of rich traditions and enriched by their timely content, the Kazakh CP Central Committee is currently doing a great deal to eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes committed in internationalist and patriotic education during the so-called stagnation period. Judging by the frank, enthusiastic response from communists and non-party members this course has already yielded some positive results. Probably we should not postpone any longer the realization of an old and universal desire of our republic's working people: the erection of a monument honoring the voluntary annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia, a mark of the wisdom of our ancestors and a sacred symbol of the indissoluble friendship between our peoples. At its foundations should lie soil from Maytyube, from the graves of Khan Abulkhair, Dostoyevskiy, Shevchenko, the burial places of Abay and Dzhambul, the sniper Moldagulova, General Panfilov, cosmonaut Patsayev, Chiganak Bersiyev, Satpayev, Mirzoyan, Altynsarin, Polivanov and other individuals who are dear to all the people of Kazakhstan. There should be soil from the hero cities, the capitals of union and autonomous republics, oblast centers and foreign sister cities. And let anyone who wishes to place a handful of his or her own native soil at the base of this monument, exalting it and his own internationalist feelings.

Incidentally, a preliminary decision to erect such a monument has already been made and a site for it chosen. Unfortunately, the idea has still gotten no further than good intentions.

Tasks of internationalist and patriotic education under conditions of restructuring and the giving of a new content to the principles of social justice are raising the standards and the degree of responsibility for harmonious development of our republic as a whole and its individual regions.

In our revolutionary era the future of society is as never before determined primarily by intellectual and spiritual resources. But culture and education, as you are aware, are not inherited traits; they must be reproduced anew in each new generation and are instilled mainly through contacts between people beginning in kindergarten, in school or at Pioneer camp. Of course, this spiritual accumulation of contacts will not be fruitful if it does not have a suitable material base. This includes concert halls and village clubs, and adequate facilities in small population centers—in short, the proper conditions for normal human activities.

There are 1,857 population centers in our oblast. Of these, 1,364 are small villages with fewer than 100 residents. Currently a majority of these are not even connected to the state power network. A substantial percentage of these villages are supplied by truck with the water they use for drinking and other purposes. In our oblast only one-third of the roads are paved, and in many places people are still unable to receive republic and State Television broadcasts. The same situation

prevails in a number of other zones in our republic. In other words, we must not forget for even a moment that the living conditions of people living in remote rayons, conditions which result from the period of stagnation, are at the limits of social tolerance.

Villages have already begun disappearing from the map in our oblast, and many others are losing population. Thus it is no wonder that work by republic party organs, local soviets and Gosagroprom enterprises to develop small population centers has been received critically by the people of Bayaninskiy, Chelkarskiy, Irgizskiy and many other rayons in our oblast.

We must with all frankness acknowledge that our VUZs and secondary specialized educational institutions are graduating specialists who are not only poorly trained in their specialized fields, but are also poorly educated intellectually and politically. This in turn creates the preconditions for ethnic exclusiveness, a return to nationalism and revival of vestiges of the past.

In this connection it would be timely to work actively and persistently to develop interrepublic exchange of specialists in various sectors of the economy, in addition to other measures. We feel that it is important that we regularly receive cadres from Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia and other republics, and that we send specially selected young men and women from Kazakhstan to those republics to work and get specialized education and advanced training so that they will become highly skilled workers. Simultaneously there should be a sharp increase in the scale of exchange programs, regular curriculum study and advanced training at our country's leading technical centers.

The creation of interoblast Pioneer camps within our republic would also be an excellent means of internationalist education. In our opinion, these little Kazakhstan "Arteks" for children of different language groups should be established beginning this summer.

In our oblast we have already begun practicing this form of internationalist contacts. The idea of establishing vacation camps for young workers and students also deserves approval and full support. The KaSSR Komсомol Central Committee and the KaSSR Trade Union Council should get actively involved in this matter.

A major effect could be achieved by various forms of self-dedication. For example, we should sponsor the sending of individual groups of well trained specialists and other enthusiasts to specific developing regions of our republic, persons who are gripped by a desire to realize their professional and intellectual capabilities. Naturally in order to do so they must demonstrate a willingness for self-realization and a healthy sense of ambition and not be afraid of difficulties.



Today our oblast is extremely poorly supplied with adequate social and cultural facilities. According to established norms for the provision of school, preschool facilities, clubs and public baths the availability of such facilities in our oblast varies from 30 to 50 percent. And preschool boarding facilities and clinics score even less—approximately 10 percent. Our oblast's party and soviet organs are not capable of solving many problems in the social realm. It is becoming evident that republic ministries and departments have been ignoring these pressing problems. Republic aid in providing schools and preschool facilities with various supplies, furniture and teaching aids has been particularly scanty. Every year only half of our requests for the aforementioned items are filled.

It would be expedient for republic Gosplan to review now the production of these educational materials by existing factories. We must build additional specialized enterprises as quickly as possible. For instance, 150 educational institutions in our oblasts do not have refrigeration or other equipment needed for their cafeterias. This means, for example, that half of all schools in Aktyubinsk Oblast are not supplied with hot meals. Yet the Kazakh Consumers' Union and the republic ministries of trade and education are not seeking a way out of this situation, instead hoping that resources will be found at the local level.

As you are aware, the 27th CPSU Congress and a recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet demanded that attention remain constantly focused on development of the material base of the social realm and that this be regarded as a task of primary importance. In this connection it is high time that we put an end to the infamous "leftover" principle of financing and excessive centralization of capital investments, which almost completely deprives local soviets of an opportunity to exercise their right to comprehensive development of the territory under their jurisdiction.

Here is one typical example. The Bukhara-Urals Gas Pipeline, which runs straight through the middle of Aktyubinsk Oblast, has been in use for a quarter of a century now. Yet only four farms have been connected to the pipeline network. According to a chart of gas supply in our oblast up until the year 2005 developed by the Kazgiprovodkhov and Kazgiprogaz institutes gasification of only 27 additional farms is planned. Currently we are completing construction of the Zhanazhol-Oktyabrsk Gas Pipeline, with utilization of casing-head gas. As you can see, the opportunities are there, the only thing that is lacking are allocations for the planning and gasification of areas of population. All that is up to our republic Gosagroprom.

From what I have said it follows that it is essential that our republic have a specific program for cultural construction. We must within a short period of time overcome our current substantial lag in the development of municipal services and fundamentally improve heat and

water supply systems and electrification and gasification efforts in areas of population. And in our opinion such an ambitious program can of course only be realized using local capabilities and resources.

Aktyubinsk Oblast, like all of Western Kazakhstan, possesses major sources of raw materials for the production of cement, slate, asbestos cement pipes, glass, all sorts of thermal materials, silica brick, lime and porcelain plumbing items. Development of these sources could help our republic sharply increase its production of building materials, alleviate the problem of how to develop outlying rayons, swiftly solve social problems and at the same time foster stronger ethnic and interethnic relations. We feel that our proposals will meet with the support of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and of our republic government.

A. K. Zhakupov, first secretary of Dzhambul Party Obkom:

The work of our oblast party organization to realize the CPSU Central Committee resolution entitled "On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People" was once reviewed, not coincidentally, I think, by the Buro of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. As you are aware, deformations and stagnation in Dzhambul Oblast had assumed truly monstrous proportions and were having a direct and vicious effect on the state of ethnic relations; these things sowed a lack of confidence in people's actions and undermined confidence in the apparatus of the party and of soviets and in administrative cadres, as I noted at the 8th Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

The comments in the CPSU Central Committee resolution that great damage has been done to the cause of internationalist education by major mistakes cadre policy is fully applicable to our oblast party organization; in the selection and nomination of persons for administrative positions the deciding factor was often not their political, business or moral qualities, but rather their ethnic background, clan or regional affiliations and personal loyalty. The customary division according to zhuz, into "ours" and "not ours," served the interests of a certain group of people and provided fertile soil in which protectionism could flourish.

We must state frankly that the unfortunate mechanism of "one hand washes the other" operated flawlessly in our oblast, and in its most extreme and blatant forms. But even under these very difficult conditions many communists and working people found the strength and courage to struggle against the constant growth of these unsound tendencies.

However, their efforts and the actions of a new staff of the party obkom buro did not receive the support of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the republic government. Worse, the opinion was created that established



cadres were being hounded out of their jobs, people were being punished without cause, and the struggle against negative phenomena was not being taken seriously. Only after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress did our oblast party organization meet with a positive response from the republic authorities and was able to commence efforts to improve the moral and ethical atmosphere in our oblast. And the cornerstone of those efforts was increased availability of information to the public and intensification of glasnost concerning party work.

What specifically has been done by our oblast party organization toward implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution under discussion here today? Most important, in our opinion, is the considerable measure of success achieved by party, soviet, Komsomol and trade union organs and the heads of labor collectives in learning to understand the importance of the problem of internationalist and patriotic education and turning their attention to finding ways of restructuring their work in that direction. In this respect one can scarcely exaggerate the importance of the materials of the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Steps are being taken to achieve further expansion of intraparty democracy and greater responsibility on the part of communists for compliance with the requirements placed upon them by the Party Charter. The practice of hearing accounts from communists, including verification of their personnel files, and consideration of their personal internationalist stance in accounts at party meetings and meetings of party committees has become mandatory.

Last year and during the first five months of this year our oblast's party organs reviewed the work records of over 3,000 administrative personnel. An analysis has been conducted on the participation in production-related and public activities by and the representation in elective economic organs of members of all the peoples and ethnic groups living in our oblast. Now purposeful work to ensure that they are properly represented and to eliminate distortions created with respect to admission into the party is underway. Currently our oblast party organization includes communists from 61 nationalities, and 45 nationalities are represented among deputies to local soviets. Taking into consideration the experience of multiethnic collectives at the Khimprom Association, the Novodzhambul'skiy Phosphorus Plant and the Trudovoy pakhar and Oktyabr kolkhozes, active efforts are being made to improve the various means and methods of ideological influence on the course of productive and social life and to overcome difficulties that may arise. This helps normalize the situation in our oblast and fosters worker solidarity.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution devotes special attention to the formation of internationalist labor collectives and the training of ethnic cadres of the working class. In the agroindustrial complex and in railway transport the proportion of workers of Kazakh

ethnicity is currently 69 and 44 percent, respectively. However, there are still too few Kazakhs working at industrial enterprises, in construction and in consumer services. We are also not devoting adequate attention to the training of blue-collar worker cadres from among the Kurds, Dungan and a number of other nationalities.

One of the principal ways of correcting distortions in this respect is, in our opinion, intensified attention to improvement of the system of secondary specialized and vocation and technical education. Specifically, in our oblast we have developed a comprehensive program entitled "Ethnic Cadres in the Working Class." During the current academic year the percentage of students of Kazakh nationality at urban vocational and technical schools, where most cadres for enterprises in the chemical, machine building, power engineering and construction industries are trained, has risen to 70 percent.

Experiences convinces us that genuine internationalism and true friendship among peoples are possible only if there is profound mutual respect for the dignity, honor, culture, language and history of each nationality. Taking this into account, we are striving in our oblast to bring about practical implementation of the principle of bilingualism. Many labor collectives have established special groups for the study of German, Dungan and Turkish. However, we have an acute need of trained teachers. We also lack good curricula and have a shortage of textbooks.

In our opinion improvement and deepening of ethnic and interethnic relations also brings up the matter of more in-depth study in our republic schools of the history of Kazakhstan as one of the sections of history of the USSR.

The measures that have been taken to improve internationalist and patriotic education are having a positive effect on the development of our oblast's economy. But unfortunately we have not yet succeeded in bringing many untapped resources to bear. Thus, for example, we have achieved a 99.7 percent rate of contract shipment fulfillment. Nevertheless goods worth two million rubles failed to reach our customers. We are too slow in overcoming bureaucratic administrative methods.

The neglected state of the social realm is a major hindrance. As an illustration of this suffice it to say that in our oblast there are only 56 kindergarten and nursery school spaces per every 1000 residents. Over one-third of our students study in a second or third shift. At the pedagogical institute each student has less than one square meter of classroom space. At the majority of our secondary schools and educational institutions there are no cafeterias, gymnasiums or auditoriums, and there are over 20 population centers with over 300 residents apiece which have no clubs.

In recent years there has been a marked increase in attention to ways of eliminating these problems. Every year plan goals for the construction of schools, kindergartens and vocational and technical schools are met. But the acuteness and difficulty of the situation are such, and population growth so great, that this is obviously inadequate. Therefore we ask that the republic Council of Ministers render us appropriate emergency assistance in the near future.

And one last point. This is in connection with the clan-tribal ambitions of a certain group of individuals. On 27 May 1987 the party obkom's buro and plenum gave a partylike assessment of the politically harmful actions of Sauranbayev, former first secretary of the Merkenskiy Party Raykom. He was expelled from the ranks of the CPSU on account of distortion of cadre policy, flagrant violation of the principle of collective leadership, organization of factions with the intention of discrediting decisions by the obkom buro, and abuse of his official position. A subsequent plenum of the party raykom upheld this buro and plenum resolution and harshly condemned Sauranbayev's behavior. The Kazakh CP Central Committee's Party Control Commission verified the facts locally and at the behest of the Kazakh CP Central Committee proposed that the obkom and Merkenskiy Raykom look into the accountability of communists for violations of the stipulations contained in the Party Charter.

Unfortunately, a certain Oslanov, who posed as a correspondent from the newspaper TRUD, went unpunished. He visited our oblast twice, purportedly for the purpose of checking out complaints received by his editorial office from residents of Merkenskiy Rayon. However, the result of his work was not a newspaper article, but rather a memorandum to the Kazakh CP Central Committee in which he attempted to exonerate Sauranbayev and accused the Dzhambul Party Obkom of outright persecution of an "honest, principled" man. No one knows what the next chapter in this story might have been if we had not discovered that Oslanov was an imposter, that he had never been a TRUD correspondent, but was instead a staff member of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources Press Center. This fraud was soon fired from that position. Now they say that he appears to have found another job with STROITELNAYA GAZETA.

I would like to know: who is protecting the rascal Oslanov, and who arranged for his trip to our oblast? And this is not just a matter of idle curiosity. Over the past year dozens of people have worked on the Sauranbayev case, and just recently an IZVESTIYA correspondent traveled here in connection with this matter.

As the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference note, after a decision has been arrived at by the majority there should be unity of action. Yet the number of inspections and unhealthy exaggeration of otherwise quite clear matters are not on

the decrease. In April and the first half of May of this year alone our oblast was visited by 52 commissions; it is unlikely that this approach will contribute anything toward improvement of the situation.

In conclusion I would like to note that the working people of our oblast are active participants in the socialist competition to provide a fitting reception for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Already 12 labor collectives, over 370 brigades, sectors and shops and approximately 11,000 shock production workers have fulfilled their plan goals for the first three years of this five-year plan ahead of schedule, performing their internationalist and patriotic duty through their actions.

A. G. Braun, first secretary of Tselinograd Party Obkom:

The subject of discussion at this plenum today is a very important matter. Recent negative events which have occurred in various regions of the country as a result of ethnic differences indicate that the situation in this regard is not so trouble free as it once seemed. The report and speeches on this subject have already cited quite a few examples of this. Many people feel, with some justification, that the nationalistic demonstrations in Tselinograd in 1979 were the precursors of similar events in our republic capital in 1986. We would also like to express our opinion on this matter. We feel that these events were the result of the shortsighted, reckless and irresponsible approach taken by the former republic leadership to finding solutions to pressing problems, including ethnic problems. When reaching agreement concerning the establishment of an autonomous oblast no one even bothered to consult the people in question about where to locate it or to find out individuals' opinions on a matter of such great importance to everyone. And the crux of the problem was that neither the Germans, nor the Kazakhs, nor the members of any other ethnic groups living in our oblast could understand why it was suddenly necessary to establish a German autonomous oblast in the area around Yermentau, where Kazakhs have lived since ancient times, the birthplace of the legendary Bogenbay. Therefore, if one considers the events of 1979 from that standpoint, then they were merely people's natural, predictable reaction to thoughtless acts by the leadership.

However, if one considers them from the standpoint of their organization and the content of the slogans proclaimed, then they were undoubtedly nationalistic in the fullest sense of the word. Even worse, the leaders had, as we later learned, after reaching an agreement to establish an autonomous oblast, immediately begun secretly taking steps to organize demonstrations in opposition to their own plan. As a result the brunt of the responsibility was shifted to innocent young people. Therefore it should be stated with complete frankness: the CPSU Central Committee resolution is absolutely correct in stating that neither the Central Committee of our republic CP nor the party obkom gave an insightful political

assessment of the events. The problems involved were not seriously studied nor were any serious attempts made to solve them; they were merely hushed up.

However, the majority of those here in this hall today can well remember what interethnic relations in our republic were like prior to the late 1960's and early 1970's. We lived and labored side by side, amicably and in solidarity, assessing each other's human qualities not on the basis of our ethnicity, but instead according to a person's attitude toward the job and real manifestations of lofty morals, sense of duty and responsibility. In the virgin lands this was true to a particularly full and brilliant degree, perhaps because the development of our region was truly an undertaking of all the people.

But then His Majesty the Percentage took center stage, pushing aside real human beings. People began to calculate carefully just how many members of which peoples held administrative posts within the party and state apparatus and how a given percentage looked as compared with the republic as a whole. Some people, particularly members of the intelligentsia, developed an unhealthy interest in this, and it became possible to do these calculations and make comparisons. At the same time a zealous attitude toward cadre promotions appeared. Everything was planned out several years in advance. A person's actual qualities and his ability to handle the job in question receded far into the background. Everyone who did not fit into the system and criteria for evaluation which had taken shape—incidentally, over a period of years—met with dissatisfaction and even obstruction.

Thus there began to be jobs which were always given to members of a specific ethnic group. In other words, a vicious circle was formed, in which a whole range of negative phenomena flourished; these were harshly and yet justly condemned in the CPSU Central Committee resolution. And, of course, no one even gave any thought to the fact that a specific member of a quite specific people could feel deeply offended by the fact that he had been undeservedly assigned to a position.

G. V. Kolbin's report here today related in detail and in a well-reasoned manner the great political and ethical harm caused by actions such as these. I would merely like to make the comment that even now the Kazakh CP Central Committee frequently expresses its disagreement on various cadre matters. I feel that it would be to the advantage of everyone involved if we could all end this harmful practice and place greater confidence in the lower-level party committees.

The problem of language policy has now been given priority. And that is no coincidence. For language is the quintessence of the experiences, culture and history of each people or nation. Therefore it is quite understandable that there should be no distortions whatsoever in this regard.

Members of 86 ethnic groups live in our oblast. The largest groups are the Russians, Kazakhs and Germans. Unfortunately, for many years the situation was such that not even all Kazakhs and Germans had an opportunity to study their native languages. And all because until recently our republic did not devote sufficient attention to the training of teachers of Kazakh for Russian-language schools and graduated extremely few specialists in Kazakh and German as native languages. For many years we tried to get the republic Ministry of Education to grant permission to restructure a number of groups at the philological department of our local pedagogical institute to provide training for teachers in the aforementioned categories. But for unexplained reasons we could get no support for this idea. Yet they continued training teachers of English and French for whom there are not enough jobs to go around, languages which have no native speakers in our oblast. It has only been within the past year that we have come close to resolving this problem, though there are still very many problems in this area.

For a year now we have been actively at work on implementation of the resolution adopted by the Kazakh CP Central Committee, the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic Council of Ministers concerning language study. In our oblast there has been an almost threefold increase in the number of schools where Kazakh is taught, and a twofold increase in the number of schools where German is taught. Special groups and courses have been established to promote the study of Russian, Kazakh and German at enterprises and institutions. This quantitative expansion of the extent of language study could be considered positive if it were accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the quality of instruction. Even worse, we have begun to see the errors in some of our approaches. For example, it has become evident that we should set a course toward expanding the network of mixed-language schools instead of establishing more separate ones. The methodology and practical aspects of language study are still problems, and there is a shortage of well-written guides, reference materials, conversation manuals and textbooks written in popular language.

The following example illustrates the acuteness of the language problem. Recently I met with a group of Germans who have decided to emigrate permanently from our oblast to the FRG. The main reason for the meeting was a desire to determine the motivations which would prompt Soviet citizens, born and raised in the socialist system, to leave their Motherland. Along with the impossibility of fully satisfying their intellectual and cultural needs and dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy, these people cited their fear of losing their native language. And they cited it as their primary motivation.

Today everyone sees that a great mistake was made in not providing the proper conditions for children to study their native language. But even if one supposes for the sake of argument that the members of certain ethnic

groups living in Kazakhstan have a right to undertake the difficult step of emigrating in order to preserve their language, then one must ask oneself another fair question: where can the Kazakhs go to study their native language? Obviously it would be appropriate to demand an answer from those who were behind the percentage mania: why did they let things go so far that young people were deprived of the opportunity to study their native language? R. Gamzatov is so right when he expresses his attitude toward his native language in the following words: "Someone else may be cured of illness by his native language, but I cannot sing in it. If I knew that my language were to disappear tomorrow, then I would be prepared to die today."

Realizing and analyzing existing problems, party committees in our oblast are striving to make more complete use of accumulated experience and the wealth of Leninist traditions, and are searching for new forms and methods of influencing people ideologically, of mobilizing them for implementation of radical economic reforms and fulfillment of five-year plans and goals. The work being done is yielding some results: people's attitude toward labor is changing, there is greater order in production work, everywhere modern methods and forms of labor organization—collective, family and lease contracts—are being put into practice, and the cooperative movement and individual labor activity are gathering impetus. Last year and this year there have been higher growth rates for industrial and agricultural production and contract discipline has improved. For example, since the beginning of the year the number of enterprises which do not fulfill their contractual obligations has decreased by a factor of three. The plan for the first five months of the year for retail trade, savings accounts, paid services and consumer services has been fulfilled. Demand for meat and dairy products is being satisfied in a stable manner, and steps are being taken to ensure a better supply of fruits and vegetables.

People now have greater faith in their own strength, in the importance of public opinion, and this is a guarantee that restructuring will come to be of an irreversible nature. However, to be quite frank, we constantly live in a state of alarm about tomorrow, clearly aware that the number of "bottlenecks," particularly the social ones which directly or indirectly affect people's moods, has scarcely decreased at all. The problem of so-called small populated places is particularly difficult; there people are deprived of even the most basic conveniences.

Everyone realizes that we are not going to raise the rural worker's standard of living to match that of his urban counterpart overnight. But we are certain that we absolutely must strive to accelerate that process. Therefore the party obkom and the oblispolkom are taking energetic, persistent measures to rectify the current situation. Expanded efforts to bring about a rapid solution to this problem will also definitely serve to improve interethnic relations. It is our goal to ensure that the problems which may arise in this area will be resolved on a genuinely

democratic basis and in accordance with restructuring, as was noted in the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

In conclusion I would like to say that the overall situation in our republic has of late changed for the better. Slogans are being replaced by real work and, naturally, a real improvement of the situation in the ethnic and interethnic realms. The period of untiring work to carry out the Central Committee's resolution was not in vain. Yesterday's concert, which was wonderful and profoundly internationalist and in many ways instructive for all of us party workers, was evidence of this.

V. M. Miroshnik, chairman of the KaSSR KGB:

The importance of today's discussion and its acutely harsh tone and orientation bring us back over and over again to the events of December 1986, when certain young people in Alma-Ata, seething with nationalistic egoism and ambition, grew into a violent, raging mob.

The causes of these events have been revealed in depth by the CPSU Central Committee. As has been noted, an unfavorable situation had arisen in many areas of our republic's social and economic life, including the area of interethnic relations. However, these phenomena had been hushed up and not been given a proper political assessment. Take, for instance, the events which occurred in Tselinograd in 1979. Despite the fact that they were of an openly nationalistic nature they were classified as coincidental, occurring in opposition to a plan to establish an autonomous oblast. Grouping of young people into factions on a politically harmful basis, including creation of groups with nationalistic overtones, was not properly evaluated.

There were quite a few students among the participants in the mass disorders in Alma-Ata. This was the fault of a majority of the former heads of VUZs in the capital, who had essentially forgotten about internationalist and patriotic education altogether. Instead there was open praise for archaic folk and clan customs and rituals, ethnic prejudices took root and the prerevolutionary past was idealized. Flourishing protectionism, bribery and philistinism were augmented by methodical incitement of a feeling of ethnic exclusiveness and superiority over other peoples among students of native ethnicity. Consider the case of the Theater Art Institute. Almost one-fifth of the student body of this VUZ participated in the mass disorders. A whole group of students—Aytmurzayev, Kanetov and other, 12 in all—conducted provocative instigative work on the night of 16-17 December in eight dormitories at six of the city's VUZs and at the Plant imeni S. M. Kirov. They persuaded politically unstable young people to take part in antisocial acts and prepared and displayed provocative slogans and posters on the streets. A report from the KaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education noted that the causes of these antisocial acts by students were

serious failings in educational work and political shortsightedness on the part of certain instructors at the institute, who themselves often permitted nationalistic and other negative acts.

The same negative situation existed at Kazakhstan State University, where little by little the groundwork was laid for a nationalistic explosion. Certain officials intentionally selected the student body in a one-sided manner over the course of many years, taking advantage of the former rector's special protection and silent assent. This not only undermined the foundations of the principles of social justice, but also distorted the perceptions of genuine values on the part of some young people of native ethnicity and seriously hindered their ideological, moral and political growth.

Under the guidance of the Kazakh CP Central Committee our republic KGB and law enforcement organs did a great deal of work to cut off and localize the consequences of the nationalistic demonstrations. The organizers, instigators and active participants in the demonstrations were apprehended and convicted. Among them was Uvakov, a former docent at the Architecture and Building Institute, Karabayev, Kazakhstan State University assistant prorector for ideological work, Vakhmetov, secretary of a Komsomol committee, Kozhakhmetov, Kazakh Television editor, Sabitova, a teacher, and others.

Restraining influence was exerted on many other participants. Explanatory work and other measures of an educational nature made it possible to prevent a repeat of the mass disturbances in our republic. In short, the dynamics of the events and the circumstances surrounding them have been studied. The findings were presented in a timely manner to the public at large.

The events in Alma-Ata provided an impetus for new attacks by our ideological adversaries on the Soviet state and social system. There has been a marked upsurge in the subversive activities of intelligence services and ideological diversion centers against our republic. Last year alone subversive actions by several of the adversary's emissaries were prevented; these individuals were attempting to use information about the December events to incite interethnic hatred. Infiltration of anti-Soviet materials from abroad has increased. Literally just a few days ago a large shipment of anti-Soviet literature was discovered in raw materials received from abroad by an enterprise in this republic.

Our enemies and their "voices"—in this regard Radio Liberty and its Kazakh section are particularly zealous, regarding the December events as a "successful topic"—are intensifying their slanderous attacks on Leninist nationalities policy, spreading malicious fabrications concerning Kazakhs' alleged lack of rights in the USSR and falsifying their history in order to incite people to provocative, antisocial acts. And we cannot say that the

adversary's efforts have all been in vain. It does sometimes happen that the poisonous seeds of slander fall on the fertile soil that ideological diversionists seek.

I should note that the adversary is conducting this subversive work across a broad front, taking into consideration the ethnic composition of our republic and markedly stepping up ideological pressure on all segments of the population. For example, expansion of ties with foreign states is being exploited for the purpose of stirring up sentiments favoring emigration among individuals of German ethnicity.

In recent years the ideological diversion centers have been attempting to unite nationalistic and religious tendencies into a single stream. And this sort of work is being conducted selectively. For example, in those places where Islam is the traditional belief attempts are being made to create some sort of Muslim opposition, to set apart the people of those regions and differentiate them from other peoples and ethnic groups, sowing dissension and hostility between them.

The timeliness of struggle against acts of ideological diversion requires intensification of ideological educational work, especially individualized work, as well as new, more effective approaches. And above all these new approaches should be properly aggressive, flexible, well supported by evidence and, most important of all, convincing.

Kazakhstan's state security organs are organizing their official activities in accordance with the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, relying on the broad support of working people and striving to ensure strict compliance with socialist legality. Our Cheka-ists are devoting special attention to ways of sharpening working people's political vigilance—a tried and tested weapon which has on more than one occasion enabled Soviet people to thwart the enemy's devious, insidious schemes.

Political vigilance is the ability to recognize true enemies and criminals who should feel the full force of Soviet law. However, this vigilance should be combined with a respectful, thoughtful attitude toward Soviet people who have committed an error. Particular sensitivity is required in all matter pertaining to ethnic relations. It is precisely these approaches which are taken at all times in the work style of Kazakhstan's Cheka-ists.

K. B. Boztayev, first secretary of Semipalatinsk Party Obkom:

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to Internationalist and Patriotic Education" was a unique starting point for radical restructuring of the work of our oblast's party committees in this highly important area. We give credit to the Kazakh CP Central Committee for its new approaches to this work. The

establishment of interethnic relations commissions and sectors under the Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms and soviets has truly taken us back to the Leninist period in this work and has allowed us to see problems which we previously did not even notice.

The report stated that there are no trivial matters when it comes to interethnic relations. Following up on that thought, I would like to say that obviously there are also no "pure" issues when it comes to interethnic relations. All of them, as stressed in the CPSU Central Committee resolution, are closely interwoven with economic, social and political questions.

The lower rate of social and economic development in the late 1970's and early 1980's had a major effect on Semipalatinsk Oblast. All sectors of its economy and culture showed signs of stagnation. Over the 10-year period following 1975 our total volume of industrial production increased by only 3.9 percent, despite the fact that during the same period fixed capital expanded by a factor of two, and the number of workers by 11 percent.

We have virtually no enterprises that produce highly profitable goods or which are on the cutting edge of scientific-technical progress, although we have that potential. This situation has had a negative effect on our oblast's level of national income and on its contribution to the nationwide economic complex. There has been no noticeable gain in the production of animal products. The low levels of livestock and agricultural production which have existed for many years and serious lags in the physical base of consumers' cooperatives have exacerbated the food supply problem. Thus, for a long time the residents of our oblast center experienced a serious shortage of fermented milk products.

The social realm in our oblast remains impoverished and lacking in facilities; in this respect we are close to last place in our republic. A difficult and depressing situation exists with regard to health care and education. For example, only one-third of our schools are up to standard, 40 are housed in seriously dilapidated buildings, and some have already collapsed or been condemned. We not only have an excessively high density of beds within hospitals, 80 percent of the hospitals themselves are housed in dilapidated, emergency or makeshift structures. Regional coverage by consumer services is only 28 percent. Of our 14 rural rayons only one has a standard-grade House of Consumer Services. The situation is further exacerbated by the poor condition of the construction industry. All this has led to distortions and to a population exodus, for which our oblast was criticized in the CPSU Central Committee resolution and in today's report to the plenum.

And now when discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses our ideological aktiv and labor collectives are justifiably asking why Semipalatinsk Oblast has lagged so severely behind in the economy and the social realm,

why we are ascribing the problem to the period of stagnation, i.e. giving the impression that the times themselves were to blame, though it is we ourselves who filled those times with actions?

Naturally the brunt of the responsibility falls upon those who were the leaders of our republic. Instead of interpreting the situation in a critical manner they praised and exaggerated our successes. Our obkom buro does not invoke the period of stagnation. Targeted programs of social reorganization are being carried out on the basis of an economic upturn.

Recently our oblast has been visited by the heads of the republic, Gosplan, ministries and departments, and they have rendered us substantial assistance. Planned measures will allow us to alleviate the urgency of a number of problems within a few years' time.

As was noted in the report, many graduates of schools in our oblast have a poor mastery of Russian. Yet is it possible to gain a better mastery of the Russian language if the teachers teaching it are non-Russians? In some of our rural schools all the teachers are non-Russian, and many of them have a rather poor knowledge of Russian themselves. There is also a problem with the study of German as a native language and with Kazakh literature in Russian-language schools. It is introduced too late, at the final stage of the educational process. The attention of republic authorities and Kazakh CP Central Committee departments should be directed to this.

In some rural rayons in our oblast all members of the working class are of native ethnicity. These areas need an influx of persons of other ethnic groups, but in order to achieve this we must improve the structure of the economy and raise labor indices. Unless we do so we will obviously be unable to create a multiethnic populace. It would be correct to take this fact into consideration in the process of drawing up plans for the 13th Five-Year Plan.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of the Kazakh Party Organization With Regard to Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People" was for all of us a document of great social and political significance and a blueprint for action. We are firmly convinced that it will play an important role in the historical destiny of the Kazakh people and all the working people of multiethnic Kazakhstan. Since this CPSU Central Committee resolution was passed a great deal has been done in our republic toward correcting the errors which occurred in the past. But we must not think that everything has been corrected.

After hearing the report to today's plenum one comes to the conclusion that much remains to be done with regard to strengthening of internationalism, and that it is we, the communists and the indigenous aktiv, who have the

most to do in this respect, because past events in this area were not merely individual mistakes, but rather mistakes on the part of a certain segment of our aktiv.

Glasnost and democratization have increased working people's activism. A new wave of activism was sparked by the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. People are demanding accelerated resolution of accumulated urgent problems. And our past experience convinces us that difficulties which until quite recently appeared insurmountable are now giving ground and being resolved. At this key period the Semipalatinsk Party Obkom is fully aware of its growing responsibility and is mobilizing its entire available productive and creative potential and all its capabilities in order to perform the tasks that lie ahead.

K. A. Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of KaSSR Gosplan:

When one ponders the reasons behind the negative phenomena in the social and political life of our republic one begins to feel that it is the primary duty of each one of us, whether worker, engineer, minister or party official, to define the extent of his or her responsibility for all the things that have happened in our republic in recent years. Only an active stance and effective work to overcome accumulated problems will allow us to achieve more dynamic social and economic development.

The sharp decline in past years in the growth rate and efficiency of production were to a large extent made possible by errors committed by our republic economic organs, and by Gosplan in particular. Recently Gosplan's role in setting strategic orientations in the development of the economy and in shaping the structure of public production has been reduced. Frequently Gosplan's work is limited to mechanical submission of proposals to ministries and departments. Instead of protecting the republic's interests it has often been content to take whatever the union-level ministries would "give" it.

In addition to all this it should be noted that the Gosplan staff were wasting most of their time on "justification," then on the search for resources needed for the construction of unplanned or especially prestigious projects. Hence the imbalance in the economy, the disproportion, the prevalence of the raw-material-producing sectors in our republic's economic structure, backwardness in the social realm, poor supply of consumer goods, surplus workers in certain regions and an acute labor shortage in others. This also resulted in the extremely bad ecological situation in a number of cities in our republic, and in the problems of Lake Balkhash and the Aral Sea.

Some former oblast heads also did their bit toward multiplying the constantly expanding "bouquet" of problems by protecting their petty local interests and attempting to get unjustified, voluntaristic economic decisions made. Almost one year has passed since the

CPSU Central Committee resolution being discussed here today was adopted. For our republic Gosplan this has been a period of development of major measures to eliminate stagnation in the economy and to expand Kazakhstan's contribution to the nationwide economic complex.

The plan for our republic social and economic development up to the year 2005 is one substantial result of the work that has been begun; the main purpose of this plan is to achieve balance in Kazakhstan's economy. USSR Gosplan and the all-union ministries are currently processing our republic proposals which envision the creation here during the 13th and 14th five-year plans of new high-tech industrial sectors, a substantial increase in the production of highly processed goods and consumer goods and complete processing of agricultural products.

It should be noted that all of our approaches and proposals have the full support of all all-union organs without exception. A brilliant example of this is the swift reaction by a number of all-union ministries to our suggestions concerning the establishment of enterprises in Arkalyk, which would help us alleviate the employment problem which has arisen in connection the abolishment of Turgayskaya Oblast. People have received these measures very well, since thus they now have bright future prospects. We are doing the same work in Shevchenko.

On the whole our work with all-union organs to improve the structure of our republic economy fully supports the thought expressed in today's report: it is not the all-union organs that are to blame for the lopsidedness of Kazakhstan's economy, but rather our own negligence and the inertia of thought and action which prevailed in the past.

Moving on to our present tasks, the most important of them is to bring about maximum increase in the utilization of the productive potential thus created. We should regard resolution of this economic problem as our internationalist duty. Our country and our state have invested tremendous amounts in our republic's economy, but this money is not being used efficiently in all areas. Allow me to cite just one case. Our output of goods per ruble of fixed capital is one-third lower than the national average. The increase in the capital-labor ratio greatly exceeds growth in labor productivity, and the capital-output ratio is declining. Merely holding the capital-output ratio at its 1985 level would have allowed us to receive an additional 500 million rubles of national income in 1987 without any additional expenditures whatsoever. Is this not convincing proof that the process of improvement in the utilization of our republic's productive capacities is still proceeding with extreme slowness?

What is the reason for this? We have no shortage of resolutions or scientific-technical programs designed to solve this problem. But none of them are backed up with



organizational work at the local level, they suffer from formalism, and they do not set strict standards or have proper monitoring of the way in which they are carried out. Thus, realization of the republic program mandating the transition of equipment use to a two-shift system, and unique or expensive machinery to three shifts, has essentially been allowed to drift. It cannot be considered normal that in our republic today one-third of all equipment and over 60 percent of our production personnel work under a single-shift system.

To this it should be added that voluntaristic practices with regard to the location of enterprises, without any consideration for the availability of raw materials and labor or other factors, is leading to serious difficulties in the development of projected capacities. Even worse, a number of the enterprises that have been built are not in operation due to a lack of demand for the goods they produce. Thus, in 1987 the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources built a machine building plant in Aralsk; now we find ourselves forced to transfer it to another ministry which will set up production there. A similar situation exists with regard to the huge machine building plant built in Ust-Kamenogorsk at the initiative of the former heads of Soyuzselkhoztekhnika and Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast and intended for the production of metal products.

The future of the Karagandaselmash Plant is not clear; it has been under construction for over 20 years and thus far is not producing anything except losses. The list goes on, but the number of such cases is not the problem. What is at issue is how to keep mistakes like these from being repeated.

One serious problem which has a direct bearing on the matter under discussion here today is the problem of the extremely unbalanced social and economic development of a number of oblasts, such as Guryev, Uralsk, Kzyl-Orda, Aktyubinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts. In these areas the indigenous population predominates, the level of provision of housing, health care facilities, schools and preschools is substantially lower, and food supply is poorer. None of this is new; previous efforts have been made to rectify the situation, but they were of a local nature. Cosmetic measures were substituted for serious work, and nothing beyond the facade was changed.

At the present time Gosplan is preparing an appropriate resolution for the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers concerning ways of raising the level of social and economic development in a number of oblasts in our republic. Additional means of doing so will also be sought. And, I might add, we will not be able to avoid some redistribution of funds from one region to another. However, we also have a right to demand that oblasts attain maximum output from their own economies.

In this connection I would like to direct your attention to the major divergences in production efficiency from one region to another. For example, industry in Kzyl-Orda

Oblast has a capital-labor ratio one-third higher than in Semipalatinsk Oblast, yet its output per worker is 40 percent lower. The same shortcomings exist in other places as well. As a consequence the contribution of a number of oblasts toward the production of national income is not in line with their potential, and huge capital investments are not yielding an adequate return in those areas.

The old, wasteful method of management is cropping up again; under that method it was possible to receive more than one produced and to not increase one's contribution to public production.

The Central Committee Buro's report and the discussion thereof convincingly attest to the profound interconnection between internationalist education of working people and the need to improve the state of the economy and to accelerate society's social development. For example, the task of making improvements in the economic structure will require a rapid rate of development of science and the educational system. Working in conjunction with ministries, departments and the heads of educational institutions, Gosplan has come up with scientifically based proposals pertaining to cadre training; these proposals take into account the creation of new, high-tech industrial sectors in our republic. Cadre training contracts have been concluded with 310 enterprises and organizations in our republic. A number of academic departments and VUZs have been set up directly at production locations.

The results of the first two-and-one-half years of the current five-year plan confirm the fruitfulness of the radical reform which is now underway. Under these conditions our republic Gosplan will continue to work purposefully to introduce and affirm economic methods of administration and to carry out measures aimed at increasing Kazakhstan's contribution to our country's unified economic complex.

#### Discussion Continues

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in Russian 8 Jun 88 pp 6-8

[Speeches made during discussion of Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro report to the 12th Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee by A. V. Milkin, first secretary of Vostochnaya-Kazakhstanskaya Party Obkom, Z. K. Kamalidenov, chairman of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V. N. Gumenyuk, first secretary of Borovskiy Party Raykom, Kustanay Oblast, Ye. G. Yezhikov-Babakhanov, first secretary of Dzhzhkazgan Party Obkom, O. O. Suleymenov, first secretary of the board of the KaSSR Writers' Union, B. A. Tulepbaev, director of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Party History Institute, and M. I. Isinaliyev, KaSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs: "Speeches in Discussion at the 12th Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee"]



[Excerpts] A. V. Milkin, first secretary of Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya Party Obkom: Restructuring and the pace at which our development is accelerated are determined by many factors. And by no means the least of them is the level of socialist social relations, including ethnic and interethnic relations. The CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference note that experience has shown that constant attention must be paid to interethnic relations and to the development of each people or ethnic group.

Party organizations and the public of our oblast are well aware of this. Measures to eliminate negative phenomena in the socioeconomic and cultural realms and to create a favorable moral and ethical atmosphere within collectives are being implemented consistently.

One important stage of this has been discussion of the CPSU Central Committee resolution at plenums of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, by primary party organizations, accounting by administrative personnel, including accounts before the obkom buro and secretariat with verification of work records, which must now indicate administrators' personal contribution to the internationalist and patriotic education of the collectives of which they are head. Broad educational work by the entire agitation and propaganda aktiv has been oriented in this direction. All the peoples and ethnic groups living in our oblast are beginning to be more fully represented in all branches of the social and political system and organs of state power. Internationalist labor collectives are also being formed and are becoming more and more unified.

But we have not become indifferent or complacent, nor can we, because surveys of public opinion indicate that over one-half of those surveyed have encountered disrespectful statements concerning persons of their nationality or about the traditions, customs and language of their people. Stereotypical perceptions that ethnic background plays a decisive role or stereotypes giving priority to local interests over the interests of all the people remain widespread to a greater or lesser degree in the consciousness and behavior of a certain segment of the public. This requires us to make realistically balanced assessments of the state of ethnic relations and analyze in a comprehensive fashion the processes which are at work here.

Today we do not have a sufficiently specific, theoretically well-founded and practically proven concept of how to improve ethnic relations under present-day conditions. I feel that the scientists of our republic Academy of Sciences should arm us, the practical workers, with scientific approaches to this problem as soon as they can.

Genuine internationalism is manifested primarily through practical action to strengthen the economy of our republic and our country. In our oblast are concentrated almost all facilities for the production of non-ferrous metallurgical equipment and over 60 percent of

our republic's production of instruments for the monitoring and control of technical processes. Our enterprises ship the products they make to over 1,000 customers in this country and in 33 foreign countries. As compared to last year the rate of nonfulfillment of contractual obligations has declined by 1.7 percentage points, and there has been a decrease in the amount of undelivered goods by a factor of 3.7. Plan goals for the first two-and-one-half years of the current five-year plan with regard to procurement of meat, milk and eggs have been met ahead of schedule.

However, we fully realize that the economic levers of the new economic mechanism have not yet been fully applied. This year one in seven of our enterprises is not meeting its obligations to its subcontractors, and over a five-month period these enterprises had a five-million ruble shortfall in their shipments. Within the framework of republic cooperation our enterprises are also failing to receive substantial amounts of goods from their subcontractors. We need to move from mutual complaints to economic cooperation. For example, by a decision of the councils of labor collectives at the Zyryanovsk Lead Combine and the Ust-Kamenogorsk Capacitor Plant additional funds were allocated to suppliers in order to provide material incentives to their workers for ahead-of-schedule and higher-quality filling of orders. This is already producing positive results. The Leninogorsk Polymetallic Combine, the Ust-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc Combine, the Silk Fabric Combine and others have established a close working relationship with their subcontractors.

We understand the need to solve problems affecting the state as a whole first. But it is difficult to do so when our interests are not taken into account. The collective of the Leninogorsk Polymetallic Combine, for example, has produced hundreds of tons of zinc above plan this year, while also meeting all its contractual obligations. However, in violation of the Law on State Enterprises the USSR Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy is not allowing even a portion of this above-plan production to be used to meet the needs of our oblast and our republic for pigments and paints, so vital to realization of the Housing'91 Program.

We have been justly criticized on account of insufficient consistency in our work to form ethnic units of the working class. For many years this factor was not taken into consideration in admission to vocational and technical schools. We have had to correct the admissions policy of vocational and technical schools and begin a program of exchanging young people between rayons. Now we have begun work on the training of workers at city schools on the basis of direct contracts with the agroindustrial sector. In this regard we are considering how best to set up instruction for young people of the native nationality with a subsequent transition to the language of interethnic communication. But all this will require a great deal of time. I must register a complaint against our republic State Committee for Vocational and

Technical Education, which has not accepted our recommendations and which has always adopted its plans without taking our oblast's needs into consideration.

Mastery of ethnic-Russian bilingualism is a matter of unfeigned interest to the public everywhere. But in this regard as well there are many difficulties. Whereas at the local level we have somehow managed to solve the problem of a shortage of teachers of the Kazakh language, now we face a different problem: a shortage of textbooks and methodological handbooks. At the same time we are getting the impression that our republic Ministry of Education and Academy of Sciences have left fundamental methodological work on the development of bilingualism to its own devices, and that the Kazakh CP Central Committee's Science and Educational Institutions Department is taking the position of a casual observer on this matter. Today we are working to ensure that bilingualism is achieved first of all in the service sector and by all workers who are in constant contact with people. Hence our essential demand that the newly created Ministry of People's Education and our republic Ministry of Health regard bilingualism as a mandatory professional requirement in certain special fields, and for physicians in particular.

In addition every young specialist should have a good mastery of Marxist-Leninist dialectics and be familiar with Leninist nationalities policy. Yet VUZ curricula and textbooks provide very meager information concerning the history and practice of interethnic and ethnic relations. It comes as no surprise that VUZ graduates, particular those from technical VUZs, have an extremely poor knowledge of these subjects. Yet these individuals are the future commanders of production and the teachers of labor collectives.

These matters are also not adequately reflected in advanced training courses. And we are still waiting for our republic Academy of Sciences to provide new, historically correct, in-depth research and publications on the history of Kazakhstan which will fill in the current gaps in that history. These should be accessible to a broad range of people and should be published in the languages of the peoples who live in Kazakhstan.

The teaching of internationalist convictions will require improvement in the quality of advanced training for teachers and VUZ faculty members. Work is being done on this matter at the level of our oblast. For example, we are conducting a lecture series at the University of Marxism-Leninism and the teachers' advanced training institute. However, our social scientists are learning very little that is new at the Kazakhstan State University Advanced Training Institute, because many problems are being discussed in the old way; future social scientists are not getting a special course on how to shape a culture of interethnic relations.

The heads of our schools are also making uncomplimentary remarks about the Pavlodar and Kokchetav teachers' advanced training institutes. We have already discussed this repeatedly at major republic forums. It is obviously high time for the Kazakh CP Central Committee to demand that the republic agencies responsible look thoroughly into the matter of retraining teachers and instructors in light of present-day requirements.

Restructuring has created greater interest in and attention to the wealth of the cultural heritage of Soviet peoples. In our oblast the number of folklore collectives and family musical groups is growing, and folk song festivals in which collectives from Kazakhstan's neighboring republics and the RSFSR now participate have gained wide popularity. Houses of culture and clubs cannot always hold everyone who wants to attend concerts in the program of interrayon cultural relations. In addition, in recent years one of our rayons has been holding competitions for village athletes.

However, there are many problems in this regard as well. In stores in our oblast a well made dombra is a rarity, not to mention kobyzas and other Kazakh national instruments. There are none for sale, nor are there any German instruments or ordinary Russian balalaikas. We cannot remember the last time that our oblast was visited by companies from the State Academic Theater imeni Auezov or the State Academic Theater imeni Lermontov. We also do not have performances by the state German, Korean or Uighur theaters.

Much remains for us to do with regard to young people's military- patriotic upbringing. Some of the young men being inducted into the ranks of the Soviet Army have a poor knowledge of Russian. The quality of primary military training at educational institutions is improving too slowly. Over 140 military training officers in our oblast do not have specialized training in education. Such training can only be gotten at the Karaganda Pedagogical Institute, and not more than 10 of our people per year can be trained there. It is easy to calculate how many years it will take our oblast to provide all its schools with qualified military training officers. We feel that it is essential that we expand the training of military training officers at our republic pedagogical VUZs. As before, the problem of how to attract young people under induction age into military sport sections is acute, as these sections are very poorly equipped. Obviously it is time for Kazakhstan to establish its own facilities for the production of sports equipment: go-carts, dune buggies, minibikes and hand gliders.

Following Leninist principles, we are striving to delve more deeply into the processes of ethnic relations and to react in a swift, efficient and timely manner to problems that arise. We are convinced that the success of restructuring will depend most of all on the internationalist convictions and the patriotic responsibility of each person for the fate of the Land of Soviets and for the fate of socialism.

Z. K. Kamalidenov, chairman of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

After the adoption of this fundamental document by the CPSU Central Committee our republic held a kind of people's referendum on the problems of ethnic and interethnic relations and on further improvement of the internationalist and patriotic education of working people. Party and soviet organs, public organizations, many labor collectives and the mass media have accumulated some experience with the organization of this work. Essentially, a republic system for managing these processes has taken shape. All this is first and foremost the result of concrete work done by the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro, by Comrade G. V. Kolbin personally, by the Central Committee propaganda and agitation departments, by oblast party committees and by other agencies done over a short period of time, in fact within one-and-a-half years.

Our republic Supreme Soviet has established and currently has in operation a Permanent Commission on Ethnic and Interethnic Relations, with deputies representing 11 nationalities as members. Comrade Ustinov has been appointed chairman of the commission; his candidacy was approved by the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro, of which Comrade Mendybayev is also a member.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium, all oblispolkoms and the Alma-Ata Gorispolkom have inaugurated special sections dealing with ethnic and interethnic relations. Their tasks is to monitor constitutional guarantees and legal protection for each people and ethnic group living in our republic, to ensure that they are adequately represented in soviets of people's deputies, to eliminate any local manifestations of social injustice, to correct distortions in language policy and to develop culture, the press and education, meeting the needs and wants of people of all nationalities in the best possible way.

After repeated analysis of the events of December 1986 we come to the conclusion that in our republic there was a practical conflict between achievements in the development of ethnic relations, of which we were rightfully proud, and the negative phenomena in this area which, by causing deformations in the consciousness of some people, led to infringement on the ideals and values of internationalism and socialist interethnic relations.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution gives harsh but fair assessments of the condition of the social sciences, which have made a considerable "contribution" to a one-sided orientation in Kazakhstan's ethnic characteristics.

As was quite justly noted in the report by Comrade G. V. Kolbin, who used as his basis primarily an ideal, standardized model of interethnic relations, social scientists, cut off from objective reality, were essentially carrying

out a "social imperative" which was later exploited in sanguine reports and grandiose speeches by Comrade D. A. Kunayev, his brother and those around him.

Certain literary figures also did their part toward creating a distorted perception of ethnic foundations. Pandering to nationalistic vanity, they asserted with unrestrained arrogance that "Kazakhstan is like a communist Baykonur, from which many figures in our party and state have been launched." The author of that phrase, Olzhas Suleymenov, now a delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, expressed doubts concerning the timeliness of the motto "Workers of the world, unite!" in yesterday's edition of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. In his opinion, it is no longer read, no longer excites people, no longer evokes a response in people's spirit or consciousness. Yet this motto is on the second line of the May Day Appeals of the CPSU Central Committee.

Now Olzhas Omarovich is claiming that scientific socialism and its three component parts have been converted into a religion. It would be better if Olzhas Omarovich would write good verse and do so more frequently, instead of writing the single work which, in his own words, he has been working on for 25 years now.

Until recently attempts by some party workers and honest scientists, writers and journalists to discuss the topic of internationalist education critically encountered tremendous hostility. Even speeches by some Central Committee members at the 16th Kazakh CP Congress—and that was in February 1986—on fundamental issues of cadre nationalities policy were regarded as virtual betrayal of "the Central Committee line" and the interests of the Kazakh people. Some comrades were subjected to outright slander. It seems to me that it was under the influence of this sort of speeches and assessments that a certain segment of Kazakh young people, already schooled in similar ideas and value orientations, took to the streets of Alma-Ata.

It was during those tense and dramatic days that people's deeds and actions were the most convincing argument. During the events some people joined the enraged mob, others sought after the fact to make heroes out of themselves and to "wash their hands" of the matter, to dissociate themselves from what had happened at any cost. I think that it is not quite right for the first secretary of the capital's party obkom to dissociate himself from internationalist education of working people. Internationalist and patriotic education is the task of all the party.

Some people have even attempted to portray the young people's demonstrations as a reaction against restructuring. Supposedly there was no nationalism involved. Yes, a reaction against restructuring, yes, the basis for the

instigators' actions was a desire to preserve their privileges. But it was a nationalist banner that was unfurled for the sake of these selfish ends. "Kazakhstan for the Kazakhs" was written on that banner.

How is this any better than the slogan of the nationalistic Alash Party and the Alash-Orda government or the nationalist factions of the 1920's, who demanded that non-Kazakhs be deported from Kazakhstan?

Even today one still occasionally hears people say: enough, how long can we go on talking about this?! How long can we rail against the same names? I am convinced that it would be politically wrong and harmful to oversimplify what happened and to not give those events an incisive political label: nationalistic manifestations. For no matter how small was the group influenced by the decay of nationalism, we must regard this as a sad incident in our ethnic history. The same applies to certain names; they are not cited out of some vulgar appetite for "juicy" details, but merely because the events in Alma-Ata did in fact lay on those people's consciences to a great extent. It was primarily their actions which encouraged deformation of the very concepts of socialist morality and justice.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium has analyzed the way in which awards are distributed. The fact that they were undeservedly received by Comrade Kunayev's inner circle and by persons like him has already been noted. Last year republic titles were stripped from Statenin, Bekezhanov, Vladimirov and Kasym Akhmetov, and this year from Karavayev and Nadirov. During the 10th and 11th five-year plans alone the title of Hero of Socialist Labor was bestowed on 120 agricultural workers. Of these recipients 88, or almost 74 percent, were of native ethnicity. The situation was the same with regard to other awards. While handing them out left and right the leaders of that time took little practical action toward making people's labor and life easier. For example, livestock breeders, in particular shepherds and horse ranchers, lived in conditions little different from those known by their fathers and grandfathers 30 or 50 years ago. Rayons regarded traditionally as sheepherding areas had the least amenities of all. The highest infant mortality rate is in Chimkent, Guryev and Kyzl-Orda oblasts, where the population is comprised mainly of persons of native ethnicity.

This can still be felt today. Processes which were previously cause for concern and which were discussed in several speeches to the 16th Kazakh CP Central Committee Congress are still going on. I am referring to migration of our republic's population. Each year there are over 1.5 million such migrants. And especially alarming is the fact that approximately one-third of them leave Kazakhstan altogether. This tendency holds true for all oblasts. The following are some data from a sample analysis. Last year 1,954 persons left Martukskiy Rayon

in Aktyubinsk Oblast, one-third of them leaving the republic; this figure was comprised of 13 percent Kazakhs, 25 percent Russians and 35 percent Ukrainians.

What are the reasons for this? Naturally the main reasons are the shortage of housing, a lack of social and cultural facilities, and a low level of medical, retail and household services. However, one cannot fail to see that there is also an unhealthy moral and psychological atmosphere within some labor collectives. Work is currently underway in this regard. The Central Committee and oblast-level party organs are now placing personal responsibility for the state of the moral and psychological atmosphere in labor collectives on primary administrators. It seems to me that in this respect a major role should be played by individualized work with people. Because reeducation of a person who believes in ethnic exclusiveness is no simple matter; it is delicate work that requires a personal approach and will not tolerate didactic methods.

In view of the CPSU Central Committee resolution which we are discussing here today the main thrust of our republic's language policy is the development of ethnic-Russian bilingualism. The Supreme Soviet Presidium has considered the question of how to improve the teaching and study of Russian in general educational schools in Kyzl-Orda Oblast, as well as the status of study of German as a native language in our republic. The matter of organizing study of Azeri and Korean as native languages is under consideration. Analysis shows that in this respect we have taken only the first steps: there are no textbooks, no instructors, no supplies.

The CPSU Central Committee has justly noted that party committees in all branches of the social and political structure have stopped maintaining appropriate representation of all ethnic groups. During the past year-and-a-half much has been amended, among other things in regard to proper representation on soviets of people's deputies. In elections to local soviets held one year ago members of 76 ethnic groups living in our republic were elected to serve as deputies.

However, it seems that we should all pay greater attention to the way in which the leaders of soviets are selected.

Naturally mechanistically allocating jobs and duties according to people's ethnic background is not the solution to this problem. On the contrary, in this respect it is particularly important that we create a situation which will preclude the selection and placement of cadres solely on the basis of their ethnicity without any consideration given to their professional, business and moral qualities.

We feel that many party and soviet organs in our republic are still underestimating the role of religion, particularly Islam, as an active factor in the preservation of outdated traditions and mores and activation of

clan-tribal relationships and manifestations of nationalism. We are of the opinion that everything possible must be done to step up the work of soviets of people's deputies with regard to planned, purposeful influence on the progressive public to eradicate the influence of religious traditions and customs. And most important of all is prevention of cases in which ethnic tradition is used to disguise religious vestiges of the past, customs and ritual acts which are not only in flagrant contradiction to the traditions of the Soviet way of life, but are also against the law and in a moral sense amount to infringements on the dignity and honor of human beings.

For example, we have information concerning instances of kidnapping of young women of Turkish nationality in Enbekshikazakhskiy, Iliyskiy and Kaskelenskiy rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast. Unfortunately soviets, militia organs and the procuracy do not regard the struggle against this evil as an important aspect of social and educational work requiring knowledge of legislative acts as well as skill, tact, persistence and a plan of action.

With regard to the instilling of a sense of conscious responsibility before the law we must state here today that not only the public but also those individuals entrusted with the task of upholding the law often demonstrate true legal nihilism and ignorance of the most basic standards of law and order.

As noted in the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the results achieved by following Leninist nationalities policy during the 70 years since the October Revolution are well known. Nevertheless the interests of proletarian solidarity require, in the words of Lenin, "that we never take a formalistic attitude toward the nationalities question..." This should be understood in the sense that there is not and cannot be any final, once- and-for-all solution to one of humanity's most complex problems. Each new stage brings new problems with it.

Allow me to express my confidence that our republic soviets of people's deputies will follow Leninist precepts unswervingly and will work ambitiously day after day to strengthen unity among Soviet peoples and throughout our entire indestructible Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

V. N. Gumenyuk, first secretary of Borovskiy Party Raykom, Kustanay Oblast:

Members of over 30 peoples and ethnic groups live and work in our rayon. During the years of virgin lands development our ethnic diversity increased substantially and processes of convergence among ethnic groups intensified. The total number of ethnic groups represented doubled. Today in a number of villages one marriage in three is interethnic. It is symbolic that Kharkovskiy and Kamensk-Uralskiy sovkhoses in our rayon were named in honor of cities in fraternal republics.

For many years now Krasnopresnenskiy Sovkhoz has kept in touch with Moscow's Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon, whose emissaries laid the foundations of the farm. Members of many nationalities have written shining pages in the labor chronicle of our rayon. The names of K. Donenbayeva, Hero of Socialist Labor, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and delegate to a number of party congresses, M. Yarovoy, a full knight of the Order of Glory, and others are known not only here but throughout the country.

The names of the best representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia are borne by a sovkhaz, a regional hospital and a school. There are many similar examples. However, after analyzing the situation in our rayon we are forced to acknowledge that matters of interethnic relations and internationalist and patriotic education are still not of concern to everyone. But no one has a right to be passive, much less indifferent, when it comes to this matter. In October of last year we submitted the question "On the Tasks of Our Rayon Party Organization Toward Realization of the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People'" for discussion at a plenum of our rayon party organization. But prior to that we took a poll of public opinion. This helped us to discuss the problem from all angles and develop a specific program of action toward realization of the CPSU Central Committee resolution. In accordance with the requirements of that document we are conducting purposeful work aimed at improving the moral and psychological atmosphere of labor collectives and bolstering our economy.

We are now paying greater attention to the selection, placement and training of cadres. Of the almost 400 members of the raykom nomenklatura 28 percent are Kazakhs, 44 percent Russians, 16 percent Ukrainians and 5.1 percent Germans. This is essentially in line with the ethnic composition of our rayon party organization. We strive to comply in practice with the most important principle of internationalism: representation of all nationalities in the leadership echelon of the elected aktiv; at the same time we give consideration given to individuals' political, business and moral qualities.

The report at today's plenum gave an in-depth analysis of the reasons behind flagrant violations of Leninist nationalities policy. And each person should draw his own conclusions from the report. Currently we, too, are doing a great deal to make life more democratic, and in particular to improve the cadre selection process. The majority of production sectors at kolkhozes and sovkhoses are headed by brigade leaders and managers chosen by their collectives in competitive elections. Elections of farm directors have begun. Unfortunately the problem of bilingualism is being resolved too slowly. The teaching of Russian at ethnic schools is not on a very high level, and many graduates do not speak Russian fluently. The way in which Kazakh is being taught is

cause for alarm. There is a shortage of qualified instructors and the material base of a number of schools is poor, particularly in remote settlements.

Labor collectives play the most important role in internationalist training. The ideological groundwork for economic reform requires fundamentally new approaches. A high level of competence and initiative are required, as well as, most importantly of all, a sense of proprietorship among people doing production work. The transition to economic methods of administration and the application of the Law on State Enterprises have intensified activism by labor collectives.

Today all kolkhozes and sovkhoses in our rayon have made the transition to lease contracts, and family contracts and intensive labor collectives are being set up. The anti-waste mechanism has begun to operate in a new way. Lease collectives have conducted sowing in a more organized and high-quality manner than ever before, and a good deal of work has been done toward fulfillment of state orders and making up for arrears on grain procurement. Cooperative associations in various areas of production are gaining strength. Recently our rayon held a meeting of authorized electors at which a new head for an organ of agricultural production, the board of an agricultural association, was elected. However, much remains to be done if the new administrative system is to prove its full effectiveness.

Matters of internationalist education and the molding of people's spiritual needs cannot be considered in isolation from social problems. In recent years much has been done in our rayon toward realization of the housing program. On farms we will complete it this year, and next year in the rayon center. A fair cultural, educational, athletic and health care base is being created. Last year an arts school and the Druzhba-Dostyk Cultural and Athletic Complex, with space for 4,000, was opened. All central farm settlements now have houses of culture, and the majority of farms are completing the construction of stadiums, kitchen stores and young people's cafes.

I would like to direct the particular attention of republic ministries to solutions to the problems facing rural rayons. Virtually all construction at sovkhoses and kolkhozes is being done by the economic method which, as a rule, is based on the system of "acquisition." But this sort of "enthusiasm" is fraught with violations of the law. I feel that the time has come to supply those building using the economic method with cement, lumber, slate, plumbing and other equipment. We are told to expand our local production of building materials. Each year our rayon manufactures up to 17 million bricks, yet we cannot get funding for adequate shipments of fuel to fire them.

We are trying to have our own kitchen stores, comprehensive service centers and cooperatives offering a broad range of services to the public. We want to have shops for

fruit and vegetable processing, leather tanning, etc. However, it is virtually impossible to find the necessary equipment. We are also troubled by the problem of remote settlements. Recently we have been attempting insofar as possible to solve social problems in those places by improving people's conditions at home and at work, but out-migration from certain sections continues nonetheless. It is time to have reliable heating systems and good roads in these population centers. These problems must be resolved as soon as possible.

Recently our party raykom has been working in a more purposeful manner to educate young people about revolutionary, military and labor traditions. We are arranging meetings with veterans of war, party work and labor and with internationalist soldiers, and we are setting up Komsomol youth brigades and branches. Young people require a special approach when the subject is ethnic and interethnic relations. It is simply impossible to perform this task through the efforts of local party organs alone. We need knowledgeable, highly skilled lecturers and propagandists of republic caliber. Writers, dramatists and cinematographers owe a great debt to the people of the virgin lands. Life urgently demands the establishment at the higher party school of a department on the psychology and ethics of party work and on sociology and its relationship to internationalist educational work.

At the present time our rayon's primary party organizations and labor collectives are enthusiastically discussing the CPSU Central Committee's Theses. We are receiving proposals from communists concerning the establishment of an organ which would coordinate problems of interethnic relations in our country and our republic. This could be in the form of a state committee or council. We need a research center, an institution of peoples, which would study, summarize, project and make recommendations on nationalities issues. And it is time for the oblasts to have a formation for the conducting of sociological research and the study of public opinion and people's sentiments. Is it right that only three industrial enterprises in our oblast have resident sociologists? And no sociological projections whatsoever are being made concerning the rural population.

Socialist competition is intensifying in honor of the upcoming forum of communists. In our rayons' primary party organizations and labor collectives creative, purposeful work is underway, including work on today's topics of discussion. In our opinion restructuring has awakened a genuine political consciousness in the people, a consciousness that is civically mature and socially active. Our party raykom regards ensuring that revolutionary renewal of all areas of life becomes the heartfelt cause of every communist and the patriotic duty of every worker in our region as its task.

Ye. G. Yezhikov-Babakhanov, first secretary of Dzhezkazgan Party Obkom:

In the CPSU Central Committee resolution whose status we are discussing here today the causes of errors,

miscalculations, and violations and distortions of Leninist principles in our republic are revealed with extreme clarity. We have been given an object lesson in dialectical analysis, glasnost and practical organization of work pertaining internationalist education of working people.

The major shortcomings and failures noted in the resolution are rooted in the years of stagnation. Our oblast was no exception in this regard. A half-hearted style in the economy, distortions of cadre policy and monotony in the social and cultural realm left their mark on ethnic relations. These relations were worsened by bureaucratism, formalism, staleness, indifference and violations of social justice. Some administrators came to regard themselves as feudal princes, more concerned with their own prosperity than with working people's urgent needs and wants.

Recently matters of ideological-political, internationalist and patriotic education have twice been considered at plenums of our party obkom and at a special conference, and these questions have been raised with urgency in accounts by the party's obkom buro, gorkom and raykoms concerning their leadership of restructuring efforts. Under conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost many party committees and primary party organizations are taking new approaches to the performance of economic, social and educational tasks. Election of cadres is becoming a well established practice. Currently efforts are focused on low-level labor collectives, primary party organizations and party groups.

In support of the criticism expressed in the Central Committee Buro's report I would like to say that in a number of places no clear-cut system of class-oriented internationalist and patriotic education has taken shape, instances of violations of social justice and distortions of the ethnic composition of cadres have not been eliminated, and there continue to be manifestations of arrogance, prejudice and a superficial approach to consideration of working people's complaints and petitions; all this has a negative effect on the solidarity of persons from different ethnic groups. We are striving to give a strict, partylike appraisal of each incident of this type.

Today industrial enterprises which have made the transition to new conditions of management account for over 89 percent of our oblast's total production. The first steps toward economic reform have already enlivened the work of labor collectives. The number of enterprises not meeting their plan goals for contractual shipments has decreased from 12 to two. The level of fulfillment of delivery obligations has reached 99.96 percent. The profit plan has been overfulfilled by almost one-and-a-half million rubles. However, we have not yet succeeded in ridding ourselves of negative tendencies and signs of stagnation in our leading sector: non-ferrous metallurgy. With each passing year this sector shows a decline in its

capital-output ratio. We are currently producing less black copper than we did 10 years ago, and our copper has lost its former renown. It once set the standard on the world market.

The attention of communists at party committee plenums has focused on ways to solve these problems and to expand our oblast's contribution to our country's unified economic complex. But at times we fall into a deceptive situation. We meet our contractual obligations in accordance with state orders, yet no attention is paid to quality. Yet due to the poor quality of the goods we produce our customers refuse to pay for them. It seems to us that in this situation the Industrial Construction Bank should not remain on the sidelines, but rather should pay those who fulfill state orders in a disciplined manner the money they have coming to them. Under conditions of self-monitoring in collectives unrecompensed labor takes on a political overtone and casts a negative shadow on economic and internationalist cooperation.

Work with internationalist and patriotic education is closely linked to resolution of urgent social problems; these problems determine people's mood and their attitude toward restructuring. Our oblast has met its plan goals for the first two-and-one-half years of the current five-year plan with regard to grain, milk, livestock and poultry production. Nevertheless the supply of food products remains a very serious problem. At the initiative of party organizations measures have been taken for the purpose of expanding our oblast's production of agricultural products. In practical terms this has been reflected in expansion of the area of grain, potatoes and vegetables under cultivation, in some increase in livestock productivity and in the construction of facilities serving the food and agricultural processing industries.

During the current year over 90 percent of all the farms in our oblast have made the transition to lease contracts. Collectives working in the new way are working virtually all the grain fields and potato fields and practically all head of cattle held in common. Our oblast party organization has set itself the task of reaching scientifically established standard levels of meat, vegetable and potato consumption through its own production by the end of this five-year plan.

We were justly criticized in the report in connection with the out-migration of a part of our oblast's population. The causes of this phenomenon have been analyzed in depth by party committees and soviets of people's deputies. The primary causes are a lag in social and cultural development, particularly the provision of amenities to villages, excessively slow resettlement of persons living in the zone of mining activity and soil subsidence, an elevated level of drinking water pollution in many population centers and, finally, the unfavorable ecological situation around cities and workers' settlements.



Our oblast party, soviet and economic organs have tackled the task of solving these problems instead of procrastinating about them. As of today our six-month housing plan has been fulfilled. But, quite frankly, we could have achieved more had it not been for an acute shortage of physical resources. We still do not know what to tell people when they ask about the aqueduct project, construction of which is virtually at a standstill for reasons beyond our control, despite the fact that the promised completion date and standard time limits for its construction are long past. For five months now two major departments—the Ministry of Construction and the Main Administration for Rice Sovkhoz Construction [Glavrissovkhozstroy]—have been trying to decide who will supply this project with metal and cement, and how that will be done.

During a February inspection tour of current problems in our oblast's building materials industry the heads of the nationwide and republic construction complex outlined tasks relative to its priority projects and stated in what months of the year they should be completed and how much additional housing should be built this year using those new facilities. Now we have active organizational work with labor collectives behind us. But one of the secretaries of our party obkom is currently doing that work in the high offices of union agencies instead of in our oblast, convinced that late delivery of equipment will prevent us from putting the new capacities into operation on time. We request the active assistance of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers in overcoming this lag in the social and cultural realm in the industrial regions of our oblast.

In the course of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference communists are correlating the actions and plans of party organizations and labor collectives with the requirements of the February and May Central Committee plenums. In doing so particular attention is being paid to realization of radical economic reforms and development of democracy, glasnost, criticism and self-criticism. Many collectives are close to fulfilling the ambitious socialist obligations that they undertook in honor of the 19th Party Conference.

The working people of our oblast are unanimous in their support of the results of talks between M. S. Gorbachev and the President of the United States. The agreements concluded are the result of new foreign policy thinking and are an unprecedented achievement of Soviet peace diplomacy. The people of Dzhezkazgan Oblast regard it as their internationalist and patriotic duty to reinforce this achievement with their outstanding, innovative labor.

O. O. Suleymenov, first secretary of the board, KaSSR Writers' Union:

Judging by the reaction from the floor, my comrades expect that I will devote my speech to a polemic against

Comrade Kamalidenov. But I do not want to do so and will not, because I feel that this year some changes have also taken place in relations between communists, and these are reflected in the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th Party Conference. I have read the CPSU Central Committee's May Day Appeals and the text of the Theses, which state that it is time for us to improve the way in which discussions are conducted and to put an end to the settling of scores.

Nevertheless I must in one way or another talk about ideological work in our republic. The theme of today's plenum is a broad and timely one. I do not need to stress its significance for our republic and for the country as a whole. We in the KaSSR Writers' Union have held several meetings on the subject of internationalism. Much has been experienced and reconsidered since the December events and the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolution. Everyone acknowledges that there has been a major failure in ideological work, and both the report and today's speeches have definitively stated that this failure was to a large extent the result of incompetence on the part of persons working in the field of ideology.

You are aware that in party work the economy has always been given priority and ideology unfortunately relegated to last place. The leaders of each republic, oblast and rayon were daily held accountable for the harvest, metal production, hay production, etc. Therefore the strongest cadres were directed into the economy. And it was not always the best-trained individuals who wound up doing ideological work. They spent long hours in their armchairs, occasionally ascending the podium to declaim eloquently their latest speech, prepared by an army of assistants. And when they were no longer even able to do that much they were sometimes transferred to a job in a soviet, but not in a rayon or oblast soviets, where one has to work.

Today the party's attitude toward this field of activity has begun to change markedly. It has become obvious that the economy and spiritual culture are closely interconnected. Work in ideological organs requires gifted specialists who can think creatively and are able to correct future positions and their own positions of today. And such individuals as these are especially needed now, at a time when the people, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has put it, are in motion and feeling their strength, a time when problems have been brought out of the shadows, many of them having by this time become difficult problems to solve.

It is also natural that over the past three years our peoples have become more attentive to their ethnic values. Therefore it is essential that everyone react accordingly to this.

Two days ago the KaSSR Writers' Union held a party meeting. The topic of discussion was the CPSU Central



Committee's Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Attending the meeting were comrades Kolbin and Dzhanibekov. The writers would not let the first secretary of the Central Committee leave the podium for three hours. A direct dialogue with the audience took place, and this was not the first discussion of this type.

I would like to note that at meetings like these writers have raised and are continuing to raise questions that are pressing and of concern to all the people: the future of the Aral Sea, the bilingualism problem, ways of increasing the prestige of Kazakh and other ethnic languages, kindergartens, schools, and attitudes toward history and toward names which have been unjustly forgotten. These dialogues have proved productive. As a result some problems relating to Alma-Ata have already been resolved and 16 Kazakh-language schools and new kindergartens have been opened. From today's report I learned that in other oblasts as well there has been progress on these matters. The work of outstanding poet Shakarim Kudayberdyev has been revived and the question has already been raised of establishing a commission to study the work of other figures in literature and science who emigrated in the 1930's.

Now we can really feel that better times are beginning. There is more tolerance, and I am convinced that people will work more creatively if they learn to forgive each other's dissent and not persecute people on account of possible errors. The time for VUZ admission exams is approaching. I am certain that this year the situation surrounding admissions will be less nervous. We hope that students previously expelled from VUZs will be able to continue their studies if they have a good work record in production collectives. We have learned that the cases of some convicted participants in the disturbances who have sincerely repented are being reviewed with a view toward leniency. Democracy is impossible without mercy.

The writers have asked me to pose the following question: in all the clamor of restructuring are we not forgetting about the interests of people employed in sheepherding, always the most undemanding category of rural worker? Over 30 years ago, when the best pasturage was put under cultivation, sheep farms were pushed out into arid or semi-arid zones. Writers often visit these farms, where a large portion of our republic's Kazakh population works. We see that in terms of social development these sovkhoses are lagging behind the agricultural rayons. School-age children are basically left to their own devices for the better part of the year. Only during the summer do they live with their parents while on "dzhaylyau." The level of education in their village schools leaves much to be desired, and therefore naturally the dream of any schoolchild is to find some way of getting to the city, some way of gaining admission to a VUZ.

Young people do not want to be nomads all their lives, to live without television, hot water or central heating. In addition a shepherd's salary is very small. "I could be

earning these 120 rubles in the city!" many of them reason. When they arrive in the city village young people sense their backwardness as compared to their urban peers and begin to feel a keen sense of ethnic and personal inferiority. Was it not this feeling which manifested itself in December 1986?

Several years ago I raised the question in the press of increased salary for shepherds according to seniority, as is done for grain growers and persons of other professions. Thus far no action has been taken on this matter. Perhaps we should give some thought to paying shepherds special pay on account of the remoteness, the lack of water and the terrible conditions at winter quarters, as we do for geologists. In any event, it is time for comprehensive study of the life and labor of livestock breeders, and this study should definitely involve specialists from the ministries of health and education and the state committees on culture, labor and social problems, not just from Gosagroprom. Let positive change take place in the oldest profession in Kazakhstan!

B. A. Tulepbayev, director of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Party History Institute:

Restructuring has thrust interethnic relations into the center of party and public attention. Today we are coming to a true realization of how important is the task of improving such relations in our multiethnic Motherland. At the same time we see the shameful lack of theoretical work on this topic. Previous unfounded statements that we had successfully resolved the nationalities problem that we had inherited from the old system obscured the Leninist principles that constant attention to ethnic relations is essential. The price of this approach is quite evident in our republic.

I consider the evaluation of the events in Alma-Ata in December 1986 given in the CPSU Central Committee resolution entitled "On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to the Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People" to be correct. It must be acknowledged that the notion of trouble-free ethnic relations completely dominated both science and ideological practice in Kazakhstan. The historical lessons of the party's struggle against deviations in the nationalities question were forgotten and not propagandized, and mistakes and miscalculations made with regard to this highly important matter were not analyzed. The realities of the complex historical process of internationalization of our republic's economic and social life were replaced with diagrams stressing only the positive and completely ignoring negative facts and tendencies.

In our work, especially on contemporary subjects, there was a great deal of window dressing, importunate didactics and stupefying recitations of statistics. Even such

fundamental works as the history of the KaSSR and essays on the history of the Kazakh CP are not free from these problems. The lack of good historical articles written from clear-cut partylike, class-oriented viewpoints increases the difficulty of ideological work by party organizations.

Forgetting history leads to the creation of legends and produces fabrications which are not always of such an innocuous nature. Attempts to bring back from the historical past in a new guise individuals who opposed Lenin's party and the Soviet system at various stages of history have become more frequent. Today people try to portray these individuals as ethnic figures who made a significant contribution to the history of the Kazakh people. This approach is methodologically false and is unprincipled from the party's standpoint. Perhaps the proponents of this sort of rehabilitation are motivated by a genuinely humane desire to restore justice. But in doing so emotional enthusiasm must be supported by precise knowledge of the historical truth.

Recently the feature film "Turksib" was devoted to one of these individuals, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpayev. The press immediately gave the movie a rave review, promoting the image of Tynyshpayev as the first Kazakh railway engineer.

But this is the historical truth: in November 1917 Tynyshpayev, a leader of clericalist-nationalistic groups, became the premier of the Kokand Autonomous Government, which was a bastion of nationalistic counter-revolution and the first political base of the Basmachi movement. Later as deputy leader of the Alash-Orda government he assembled regiments to be sent to the aid of Kolchak and personally ordered the execution of many Kazakh communists. This is who the well-wishers are trying to rehabilitate.

It is quite a different matter when those in question were participants in the revolutionary movement who sometimes vacillated and made honest mistakes yet openly acknowledged their errors and joined the ranks of those fighting for the cause of the October Revolution. To our great sorrow, many of these people suffered under the cult of personality and then were undeservedly relegated to oblivion. Justice should be restored with regard to these individuals.

In this connection it would in our opinion be advisable to establish a permanent commission under the Kazakh CP Central Committee headed by a member of the Central Committee Buro which would provide skilled, authoritative assessments of the contributions made by various historical figures to the revolutionary movement in our republic and to the social, economic and cultural progress of Kazakhstan. We must give their due to those who consistently fought for the ideals of Leninism and the October Revolution and give an appropriate assessment of those who were opposed to these things.

The problems of many members of the Kazakh intelligentsia were connected with Alash-Orda. However, present-day citizens of Kazakhstan are poorly informed about the role of the bourgeois nationalistic Alash Party, the Alash-Orda counterrevolutionary state entity and the persons involved in them as they relate to the history of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The problem is that research on this subject was cut off in 1935. Our republic historians have continued to avoid this subject until the present day. Our own institute has done virtually nothing, yet there are things to be said on the subject. And in particular that Alash struggled against the Soviet system and the Bolshevik party and was a political and ideological source of the Basmachi movement. The leaders of Alash supported and directed nationalistic, deviationist factions.

All this is not conducive to a realistic presentation of internationalist and patriotic education; these things require more study and illumination. We must continue research on the multilevel problems of the October Revolution and of the key moments in socialist construction on a new level, working to achieve a correct explanation of events and to reveal experiences of internationalist unity.

Life urgently demands a marked increase in our contribution to social science and qualitative renewal of the life of our republic. But I would not be telling the truth if I were to say that scientists have already restructured and dealt with all the "gaps." For science to do this will take time. However, we realize that social scientists must substantially accelerate and raise to a higher level their work on a number of problems.

Currently the collective of the Party History Institute is working on this. We are looking at each planned topic and publications on that topic through the prism of establishment of historical truth and affirmation of the principle of internationalism. Our modest contribution to this important cause were the books "Lenin's Emisaries in Kazakhstan," "Fighters for Soviet Power in Kazakhstan" and a second edition of the book "Lenin and Kazakhstan." The names of many who fought for the cause of socialism in Kazakhstan have been returned from obscurity.

The youth movement in our republic has great internationalist potential and a great deal of educational experience. The collective of our institute is currently completing work on essays on Komsomol history and is preparing for publication a collection of articles entitled "Problemy sovershenstvovaniya internatsionalnogo vospitaniya trudyashchikhsya Kazakhstana" [Problems of Improvement of the Internationalist Education of the Working People of Kazakhstan]. But our collective's primary task is the preparation of a new edition of essays on the history of the Kazakh CP. We realize that this is

an exceptionally responsible and difficult task, for we must not only reinterpret various events and processes, but in a number of cases actually study them in a new way.

Today it is clear to everyone that work on improvement of ethnic and interethnic relations and improvement of internationalist and patriotic education of working people that is of a planned rather than an episodic nature is impossible without in-depth, comprehensive scientific analysis of a whole range of questions. We are expecting a great deal in this regard from a group set up to study problems of the party's nationalities policy at our institute.

Obviously it will be difficult to proceed without development of corresponding sociological research, particularly on problems of party work and effective worker education. Many republics have already accumulated a certain amount of experience with this type of study, yet in our republic it is only being conducted sporadically and on a low methodological level. In this connection we deem it appropriate for our institute to establish a sector devoted to sociological research; a request concerning this is currently before the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

Internationalist and patriotic education can hardly be brought up to the proper level without specialized training for cadres who deal with this complex problem. At the local level it is impossible to train these cadres quickly due to a lack of an appropriate scientific-methodological base and proper experience. Therefore the problem should be resolved in a centralized manner on a partywide, statewide basis. In our opinion, toward this end it would be appropriate to request that the CPSU Central Committee establish a system for the training of party, Komsomol and ideological cadres on the Marxist-Leninist theory of nationalities relations through graduate study, special courses and traineeships, using the Academy of Social Sciences as a base. Updated editions of journals previously published on ethnic relations under socialism and the lives of the people of our country could also be of great scientific and tactical value.

M. I. Isinaliyev, KaSSR minister of foreign affairs:

In all the long years that I have been a member of the KaSSR CP Central Committee this is the first time I have spoken from the podium of a plenum. But not because there was nothing to say.

The matter being discussed so enthusiastically here today cannot leave anyone indifferent, and it extends beyond the boundaries of our republic. I can also boldly declare that the changes which have taken place in our republic's socioeconomic and intellectual life are also having a broad international resonance.

Following the December events Kazakhstan was visited by quite a few foreign journalists and foreign delegations. Naturally many of them were interested in the events that had occurred in Alma-Ata. At one meeting with a large group of Western correspondents N. A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, gave precise information on this subject, outlining the official position of the republic leadership.

Recently the press has published quite a few articles devoted to culture of interethnic relations. These are of interest not only to our countrymen. At Lake Tengiz and at Karachaganak there is a large contingent of specialists from the CSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria and the GDR. Students from various countries are studying at VUZs in our republic. In addition, there are hundreds of foreign specialists working at enterprises and on construction sites, assisting with the installation of imported equipment. Hardly a day goes by that we do not receive foreign delegations and members of the foreign press or do not meet with foreign tourists. We need to collect these grains of experience with international work with foreign specialists and students residing in Kazakhstan on a temporary basis. And for all of us it is of great importance what knowledge about our restructuring, history and traditions they receive and what impressions they carry away with them. Our guests should not get a false impression of our republic, remembering only the great heat, the wide deserts, the pathless steppe or the half-empty windows of food stores.

I support the main points and conclusions expressed in the report to the plenum. Much has been done over the past year-and-a-half to overcome the negative effects of the past, to accelerate our republic's socioeconomic and cultural development and to eliminate all the distortions and violations of the law which have been the subject of broad discussion in the Kazakhstan press. Energetic measures have been taken toward realization of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Kazakh Republic Party Organization. It has been correctly stated at this plenum today and at a recent scientific-practical conference that there are no grounds for accusing the Kazakh people of nationalism. The roots of their internationalism go deep, and that did not come about overnight, but rather as the result of painstaking educational work over the decades of Soviet power and socialist transformations. We must continue to develop these internationalist traditions.

The report mentioned the out-migration of a certain segment of the population from certain oblasts. Perhaps I am mistaken, but in my opinion the individuals in question are workers and specialists who at one time came to find jobs in those oblasts. In my opinion the reason for their leaving lies with unsatisfactory social and ecological conditions. The native population is staying, and it is for them and for all the working people of those oblasts, that we must provide the necessary conditions for a normal life. And the sooner the better.

As the saying goes, a friend in need is a friend indeed. In connection with the famous December events it may be said that Kazakhs got a keener sense of how many friends they have here in our republic, and in Russia, and in the other union republics. We bow deeply to all those who share our joys and sorrows. In contrast to certain "armchair bosses" the simple people behave with greater wisdom: they do not hasten to reach for labels or seek a bigger club to make the blow more painful.

Internationalism also has an important relationship to people's civil rights. The question of human rights is also involved in the area of international ties. It was brought up at the recent meeting between M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and R. Reagan, President of the United States.

Very often in the human rights aspect we must be sensitive to every nuance and in the process of our work with foreigners defend the correctness of our official policy and our position. We say frankly what the situation here is, without hiding our shortcomings.

There is another aspect which should also be noted. Frequent repetition, orally and in writing, of the problems of ethnic and interethnic relations sometimes leads to a situation where persons who previously gave no thought to their ethnicity or attitudes toward members of other peoples began devoting more and more attention to these questions. And in this respect we should focus more on general culture of relations among people regardless of their ethnic background. What I mean to say is that we should stress ethnicity less, thereby doing less to remind people what ethnicity is.

I would like to say a word about the dialogue which has been taking place between comrades Kamalidenov and Suleymenov at more than one plenum now. Here, too, we must observe a culture of mutual relations. I think that those in attendance here today have a right to request that these esteemed comrades show greater tact toward one another.

Today the Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries, the Chamber of Trade and Industry, the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, the "Otan" Society for Cultural Ties With Countrymen Abroad and the newly established Kazakhintorg [Kazakh Foreign Trade Committee], in addition to our ministry, actively handling foreign relations in our republic.

The time has come to really focus on the organizations that handle foreign relations. The political and professional level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been raised and it is operating under new conditions, has expanded its functions and is developing new forms of work. Thus, relations are being established with China, a patronage program has been established with Afghanistan, and work is being done with the consular services of India, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Cuba, Hungary and

Czechoslovakia. The volume of this work is considerable, but the attitude toward the ministry has thus far been the same as toward an administrative apparatus. Furthermore I would like to say that it would be expedient for the appropriate Kazakh CP Central Committee departments in conjunction with party obkoms to develop a comprehensive plan for expansion of international contacts with foreign workers and students residing temporarily in our republic.

The events in Alma-Ata in December 1986 will probably continue to provide food for thought for a long time to come. But life goes on; all sorts of situations can arise, and in any of them we must exhibit greater restraint and wisdom. The time has probably come to stop dredging up the past and start thinking more about the future, at the same time drawing the appropriate conclusions and not carrying over into the present the moss-covered methods of relations and evaluations which in the past hampered consolidation of the nation and society as a whole and which will add nothing to the future. Expressing this in medical terms, what happened was the symptom of a diseased organism. In order to treat that organism successfully we need a precise diagnosis and appropriate methods of treatment.

We must not make quick palliative assessments of the events that have occurred in the life of our republic or in relations between people. Similarly, it is still too early to draw general conclusions from the work that has been done. We must do persistent, regular, fruitful work toward instilling a culture of interethnic relations in people.

We are all the heirs of the ideas of the Great October Revolution and the historical act of voluntary joining of Kazakhstan to Russia, which act guaranteed Kazakhstan's territorial integrity and ethnic distinctiveness; I repeat, guaranteed its territorial integrity, for recently there have been those who would sew a patchwork quilt based on ethnic traits; this would be a "fabric" of unresolved problems that would cause future generations to curse us.

There have been problems in the past and there will continue to be problems in the future. And we must solve them through common effort, working together, not divided into ethnic enclaves. Karl Marx wrote: "A nation that has been shamed is like a lion preparing to pounce." The period since the publication of the CPSU Central Committee resolution entitled "On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People" has made our conscience even more acute. And may our conscience be our weapon, so that friendship, brotherhood and human relations will grow stronger in the name of socialism, in the name of the restructuring, democracy and glasnost which are spreading through people's spirits.

### Plenum Resolution

18300356a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 9 Jun 88 p 1

[Concluding resolution of 12th Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum: "On Organizational-Political Work by the Republic Party Organization To Implement the CPSU Central Committee Resolution Entitled 'On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization With Regard to the Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People'"]

[Text] After hearing and discussing the report by the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro this plenum notes that the communists and all the working people of our republic have accepted the CPSU Central Committee resolution, which gave a principled assessment of work by our republic party organization, as a long-range program for intensification of internationalist and patriotic educational work and of the struggle for successful realization of tasks pertaining to acceleration of social and economic development and restructuring.

Under the Soviet system our republic has, with the aid of the fraternal peoples of the USSR, become a major industrial and agricultural region with tremendous economic and scientific potential. A genuine cultural revolution has taken place, and literature and the arts have been developed. Contingents of a scientific and creative intelligentsia have taken shape.

However, in the late 1970's and early 1980's there was a sharp decline in Kazakhstan's contribution to our country's unified economic complex. Stagnation affected every sector of the economy and all realms of social and political life. Many enterprises failed to fulfill their contractual obligations for the delivery of goods. Plans for social and cultural construction were not met, and the food supply worsened. There were increasing manifestations of regionalism and parasitism.

Over a long period of time there was no change in the structure of public production, machine building and other science-intensive sectors developed poorly, and matters pertaining to efficient utilization of labor resources and the planned socioeconomic and cultural development of various regions of our republic were left unresolved.

Window dressing and long-winded speeches characterized internationalist and patriotic educational work. The former leaders of Kazakhstan, D. A. Kunayev in particular, and many party committees permitted flagrant distortions of cadre policy and promoted workers on the basis of patronage, nepotism or regional origin. Flattery, fawning, servility, sycophancy, bribery, padding of accounts, fraud and embezzlement of socialist property became widespread.

Substantial changes took place in the ethnic composition of certain elected organs and the staff of scientific institutions, particularly at VUZs in the capital.

Processes occurring among young people were not analyzed. On the faculties of many VUZs were incompetent, unworthy and politically immature individuals who often passed on unhealthy views to their students.

Our republic did not satisfactorily resolve problems connected with the worsening ecological situation and the need for improvement of medical services, preventive medicine or reduction of the infant mortality rate.

Inattention to the needs and desires of certain ethnic groups led to out-migration by a portion of our republic's population.

Party organizations virtually gave up the struggle against feudal vestiges of the past, outdated rituals and customs and the consumer mentality.

All these things fostered an increase in nationalistic sentiments and led to the Alma-Ata disturbances of December 1986.

Following publication of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution party organizations and soviet, Komsomol and trade union organs developed and implemented a series of measures designed to intensify internationalist and patriotic education of working people. Plenums of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms were held, as well as scientific-practical conferences on the topic "The Leninist Principles of CPSU Nationalities Policy and Current Tasks in Internationalist Education" and "Teaching a Culture of Interethnic Relations."

A unified system to manage the process of internationalist education under present-day conditions has been established; commissions on ethnic and interethnic relations are at work under the Kazakh CP Central Committee, party obkoms, the KaSSR Supreme Soviet, the KaSSR Trade Union Council and the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee, and party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs have their own ethnic relations sectors.

As party organizations go about solving problems in internationalist education they closely link those problems with the performance of tasks pertaining to our republic's economic, social and cultural development as well as with mobilization of the efforts of workers of all ethnic backgrounds to speed up the rate of industrial and agricultural production, successfully complete the Housing'91 Program, improve the food supply and the quality of goods and increase the amount of consumer goods produced and services performed for the public.

Competition between oblasts and rayons and between labor collectives and related enterprises in neighboring union republics is being developed.

Demands on primary administrators for the status of internationalist and patriotic education in the collectives of which they are head have been made greater.

Distortions in the ethnic composition of the student body at certain VUZs are being eliminated through targeted selection and training of secondary school graduates.

Measures adopted for the purpose of implementing resolutions by the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers with regard to improved instruction of Kazakh and Russian and a resolution by the KaSSR Supreme Soviet on the teaching of German as a native language have done much to improve interethnic relations in our republic. Work to produce dictionaries, conversation manuals and other teaching materials has been stepped up. The amount of materials published in German, Uighur and Korean is increasing. Ethnic theaters are being provided with better facilities.

Folk festivals, aytysy akynov, competitions between rayons and oblasts and special days honoring fraternal republics are held.

However, this plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committees feels that party organizations and soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs have still not overcome a formalistic approach in their work to organize internationalist and patriotic education, and the outdated idea that interethnic relations are trouble free has not yet been overcome. These matters are not always resolved on a truly democratic basis, in the spirit of restructuring.

Disproportions in the structure of public production are being eliminated too slowly. Our republic's contribution to the unified economic complex is still not commensurate with its economic and scientific potential. State machine building orders are not being filled. Strict compliance with contractual delivery obligations has not become the norm for every collective. There is still no well-established system for the training of ethnic cadres of the working class. Efficient utilization of labor resources and full employment of the working-age population are not being achieved, particularly in the southern regions. Facilities that produce consumer goods are lagging behind in their development, and capacities for the processing of agricultural products are inadequate.

There must be an increase in the people's standard of living, especially in remote rural rayons, preventive medicine and improvement of the ecological situation.

All branches of our republic's social and political structure are not sufficiently internationalized. Shortcomings remain with regard to cadre training and placement.

As before, the struggle against the feudal mores and patriarchal-clan customs of various ethnic groups is not being conducted with sufficient aggressiveness and

urgency. Instances of the payment of kalym, kidnapping of brides and participation by communists and Komsomol members in the conducting of the religious rituals of dzhanaz, baptism and so on are not being properly condemned. As a result, religiosity is once again on the rise in a number of rayons in Alma-Ata, Chimkent, Dzhambul, Tselinograd oblasts and in a number of other oblasts.

Formalism and didacticism have not yet been eliminated from educational work with young people. Events held have a low level of effectiveness, and not enough attention is being paid to individualized work.

There are serious shortcomings in the area of military-patriotic educational work; the number of Kazakh draftees who are not sufficiently fluent in Russian has not decreased.

At the majority of VUZs and secondary specialized educational institutions the social sciences are being taught on a low level. Scientific research is not doing enough to reveal new tendencies in ethnic relations. Specific, practical recommendations are not being drawn up.

The possibilities offered by museums, theaters and other cultural institutions, as well as by rooms of military and labor glory, are not being adequately utilized in work to strengthen friendship among peoples.

The mass media lack competence, tact, depth and a convincing image in their coverage of problems connected with interethnic relations. There are still not enough works of literature and art being created which reveal the commonality of peoples' historical destinies and fraternal friendship and which foster greater internationalism.

This plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee hereby resolves:

1. The most important task of our republic's party committees and primary party organizations is further intensification of work on the internationalist and patriotic education of working people, the molding of profound internationalist maturity and a high level of culture in interethnic relations and strengthening of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of the USSR.

Party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and communists and Komsomol members in soviet and trade union organizations and ministries have an obligation to analyze critically the status of ethnic and interethnic relations and to take specific steps in each labor collective to eliminate and prevent possible manifestations of social injustice, protectionism, nationalism and chauvinism.

Commissions on ethnic and interethnic relations operating under party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs should improve their work with regard to intensification of internationalist and patriotic education and systematically meet with citizens requesting assistance with ethnic matters.

Organizational and political work to mobilize communists and all working people to fulfill state plans successfully, to increase sharply our republic's contribution to our country's unified economic complex and to prepare a fitting reception for the 19th All-Union Party Conference should be intensified. A resolute struggle must be conducted against ethnic exclusivity, regionalism and parasitism and these phenomena should be condemned by the party in a principled manner.

2. Party obkoms and the communists in the KaSSR Council of Ministers, oblistpolkoms and republic ministries and departments should take measures to eliminate within the next few years all manifestations of stagnation in the economy and implement radical economic reform in a more effective manner. Efforts should be made to achieve fulfillment of contractual obligations with regard to shipments, markedly improve the quality of goods produced, make full use of production potential, put enterprises on a multi-shift schedule of operations and improve the average machine shifts.

Daily attention should be devoted to efficient utilization of labor resources. Additional measures to get the currently unemployed employable population involved in public production and the development of new regions should be drawn up and implemented.

Ties with labor collectives, oblasts, cities and rayons in fraternal republics and socialist countries should be developed.

3. The party committees and communists of KaSSR Gosplan, the KaSSR Ministry of Education and the KaSSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems should strive purposefully to create ethnic units of the working class, the primary bearer and conduit of the ideas of internationalism. The training of young men and women of Kazakh ethnicity for positions in the leading industrial sectors needs to be improved. Vocational orientation for young people should be improved, and the desire to begin their career with a blue-collar job should be instilled in them. Favorable conditions for young people to labor productively, live normally and enjoy satisfying recreation should be created, and efforts must be made to keep young people from moving from collective to collective.

The real needs of our republic's economic sectors for specialists should be studied constantly and additional measures taken toward improvement of the network and structure of higher, secondary specialized and vocational and technical educational institutions, organization of vocational orientation work, expansion of targeted cadre

training based on direct contracts between educational institutions and enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and intensification of work with secondary school graduates. Substantial improvement in the quality of the training, placement and utilization of specialists must be attained, taking into consideration the basic orientations of Kazakhstan's social and economic development. Training of specialists on a cooperative basis with fraternal union republics should be expanded.

4. Kazakh CP Central Committee departments and party committees should ensure internationalization of all branches of the social and political structure, comply strictly with Leninist requirements with regard to the training and placement of cadres on the basis of their business and political qualities, and create an atmosphere hostile to even the slightest signs of nationalism and chauvinism.

The training of administrators and the ideological activity in the area of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on peoples and ethnic relations and the CPSU's nationalities policy should be improved. These subjects should be given expanded coverage in training and advanced training courses. Study of these problems should be included in the system of political and economic education.

Rayon and city social and political clubs and reading rooms should be established, contests held for the best reports on ways to improve the culture of interethnic relations, and the forms and methods of internationalist and patriotic education perfected.

5. Party organizations must place greater responsibility on primary administrators for the creation of stable labor collectives and compliance with the standards of morality, law and social justice. The ability to strengthen the moral and psychological atmosphere and to organize harmonious work by persons of differing ethnic backgrounds should be a required quality for an administrative position. Accounts by party committee secretaries and economic administrators concerning their personal contribution to internationalist and patriotic education and to the formation of ethnic units of the working class should be heard on a regular basis.

6. Party committees, primary party organizations, Komsomol organizations and communists in soviet organs and public organizations should conduct an active, aggressive struggle against vestiges of the feudal past, clan-tribal relationships and religious prejudices. The essential guide to attitudes toward religion and believers is found in Leninist principles, which are intended to strengthen the unity of working people of differing ethnic backgrounds.

7. Party committees and communists in local soviets, ministries and departments should work to provide the requisite conditions for in-depth study of the Kazakh and Russian languages. The physical facilities of schools

and vocational and technical schools need to be improved, particularly in remote rayons. Language culture in the operations of administrative organs must be improved. Highly skilled language teachers should be trained in accordance with the actual need for specialists in a given language. The principle of ethnic-Russian bilingualism is to be observed in the conducting of public events, in business correspondence, in graphic agitation work and in television and radio broadcasts, advertising and published information.

8. Party committees, the KaSSR Academy of Sciences and the Kazakh CP Central Committee Party History Institute should expand the role of republic social scientists in the treatment of problems of interethnic relations and in intensification of internationalist and patriotic education. Scientific research should reveal new tendencies in ethnic and interethnic relations. Specific practical recommendations should be drawn up for the purpose of improving work to strengthen internationalism.

Scientific-technical progress is to be accelerated, problems currently facing economic sectors resolved and the network of scientific production associations expanded.

School and VUZ textbooks on republic history are to be reviewed; they should present the events of the past and the lives and roles of historical personages in an objective manner.

9. Kazakh CP Central Committee departments and party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must intensify party guidance of the Komsomol. Formalism and didacticism in the education of young men and women must be eradicated. Processes occurring in the youth milieu must be analyzed constantly and in-depth study made of the content of work with young people in labor collectives and at educational institutions. Problems that arise should be resolved in a competent, swift and efficient manner.

Communists in the republic Ministry of Education must strive to improve the academic process at VUZs, tekhnikums, vocational and technical schools and general educational schools. The task of affirming an atmosphere of friendship and mutual assistance in multiethnic student collectives should be considered a task of priority importance. Initiative and self-government should be fostered with regard to resolution of academic organizational matters, efficient utilization of leisure time and improvement of day-to-day life.

Instructors should take greater responsibility for the instilling of lofty moral qualities and internationalist convictions among students. Meetings of party, soviet and Komsomol workers with faculty members, the pedagogical collectives of schools, students and school children should be common practice. The role of the family in instilling internationalist views and stances in children should be expanded.

Cultural and athletic ties with other republic are to be developed and hikes, bicycle tours and motor tours of sites of revolutionary glory and meetings with veterans of war and labor are to be conducted.

10. The party committees and communists in the KaSSR Procuracy, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Justice and Supreme Court should intensify and deepen their work to further strengthen discipline, organization and law and order and to guarantee the social rights and constitutional freedoms of citizens of all nationalities. The work of law enforcement organs should be coordinated with that of control organs, labor collectives and the public in order to decisively eradicate alcoholism, drug addiction, embezzlement of socialist property, padding of accounts and fraud and in order to establish joint programs of action.

11. The Kazakh CP's Propaganda and Agitation Department and Culture Department, the editorial boards of newspapers and magazines, KaSSR Gosteleradio, KAZTAG, the KaSSR State Committee for Printing, Publishing Houses and the Book Trade and creative unions should improve their coverage of internationalist and patriotic education and raise the level of responsibility on the part of authors and the heads of editorial collectives for the competence, ideological content and effectiveness of the materials they publish. Articles should appear regularly on Kazakhstan's economic, scientific and cultural ties with other union republics and the socialist countries. There should be extensive coverage of experience accumulated by multiethnic labor collectives with the molding of ethnic cadres of the working class. Concern should be demonstrated for the ideological, class and internationalist tempering of writers, journalists, artists, persons working in the cinema and the theater, composers and architects; they should be regularly informed about current issues in the political and socioeconomic development of society. Measures to expose bourgeois fabrications concerning Leninist nationalities policy using sound arguments should be drawn up and implemented.

Processes of mutual enrichment of ethnic cultures should be fostered. The role of literature and the arts in performing restructuring tasks and strengthening friendship among peoples should be expanded. Book publishers should ensure timely and efficient publication of books and pamphlets devoted to intensification of internationalist and patriotic education, strengthening of friendship among peoples and the theory and practice of ethnic relations. Library holdings of literature in ethnic languages should be expanded. Shows, art exhibits and film festivals from fraternal republics should be held more frequently. Special attention should be devoted to enrichment of the repertoire of professional collectives and amateur groups performing heroic-patriotic works, including works by authors from fraternal republics, which clearly promote friendship among peoples. Programs for the development of traditional ethnic arts and handicrafts should be developed and historical and cultural monuments restored and utilized.



12. Party committees and Komsomol organs should work to improve military-patriotic training for young people, strengthen ties between labor collectives, military commissariats and military units. The role of DOSAAF and athletic organizations in the moral upbringing of young people should be expanded, the physical training of the young generation improved and work to establish young people's military-patriotic clubs and associations stepped up. Measures should be taken to improve the teaching of the language of interethnic communication to young men of draft age.

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This plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee calls upon primary party organizations and all the communists in our republic to participate actively in the restructuring of internationalist and patriotic educational work, to strengthen friendship and brotherhood among the Soviet peoples through specific actions, and to improve the culture of interethnic relations. "Communists of all ethnic backgrounds," state the CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the 19th all-Union Party Conference, "have always been the binding force and the soul of our country's great socialist union of peoples. It is their obligation to continue carrying out this lofty and responsible mission."

12825

**Kirghiz Second Secretary Kiselev on Cadre Issues**  
*18300391 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in*  
*Russian 7 Jun 88 pp 1,2*

[Interview with Gennadiy Nikolayevich Kiselev, Kirghiz CP Central Committee second secretary, under the rubric: "Party Life: Towards the 19th All-Union Party Conference:" "Work With Cadres is a Main Link of Restructuring"]

[Text] In April of last year, the 5th Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum, in light of the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, defined the basic directions of cadre policy under the conditions of restructuring. Specific measures, aimed at improving the selection, placement and upbringing of cadres and at expanding democratic principles in cadre work, were worked out. At the editors' request, Gennadiy Nikolayevich Kiselev, Kirghiz CP Central Committee second secretary, discusses how these measures will be implemented in practice.

**QUESTION: How effectively is the Comprehensive Program for work with administrative cadres, adopted by the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum, being implemented?**

The most important task of the party committees and the main lever of party influence on all areas of social life is the development and implementation of a well-considered cadre policy, the shaping of champions of restructuring, as well as persistent and consistent work with them. I fully share the position of the Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference to the effect that "the basic method of party committee work should be the organization of cadre training and retraining, their upbringing..." This also determines the significance of our cadre program.

Right now, I would like to note that the Central Committee leadership is not satisfied with the course of its implementation and the effectiveness of this work. We often have difficulty naming a candidate for newly appearing vacancy, since the reserve has been chosen, but at times is still insufficiently trained and untried in practice. Moreover, there are often surprises: in responsible positions this is impermissible, but we are discovering people who, to put it lightly, are unsuitable. What does this say? We are mastering this poorly and do not always evaluate cadres in a principle-minded and timely manner. We do not teach enough. All of this was critically and objectively noted at the 8th Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum, where our buro reported on the leadership of restructuring.

We must discuss that which has been and is being done. This January the Central Committee Plenum outlined an entire set of practical measures which are being implemented by party committees, for purposes of restructuring all party work.

Many areas have been reinforced with more competent and responsible leaders whose work style better meets the needs of restructuring. This is having a positive effect on matters, including those in the socioeconomic area. The mass information media are reporting on the positive tendencies in the development of the economy and its definite improvement, and on the accelerated solution of social problems, therefore these need not be repeated here.

**QUESTION: Do all of the new leaders fully warrant the hopes placed on them?**

Obviously, this is hardly possible in real life in general. However, this does not in any way cast doubt on the work on the whole by the party committees to renovate and improve the republic's cadre corps. Misjudgments in the cadres can be explained to some extent by the large scale of such work. After all, after the 18th Kirghiz CP Congress, 60-80 percent of the staffs of the Central Committee and of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms were replaced. This year alone, 15 percent of gorkom and raykom party secretaries, including 1 in 6 first secretaries, have been replaced.

A fair number of other types of leaders have also been replaced. This relates above all to the republic's Gosagroprom system, in which 1 fourth of rayon agroindustrial association chairmen and sovkhoz directors, 1 fifth of kolkhoz chairmen, and more than half of the construction combine chiefs in the sector have been replaced since April of last year alone. Most likely, this is too many. We ought to approach the selection of rural leaders more carefully.

Unfortunately, these replacements occurred not only as a result of a systematic reinforcement of leading areas, promotions, retirements, etc. Many leaders were removed from their posts for abuses and gross violations of the Rules of the CPSU and of Soviet laws.

This year, almost 1 tenth of the workers replaced in the Central Committee nomenklatura were removed due to negative reasons. In these same Gosagroprom subdivisions, 27 of the foremost leaders were released for being unable to cope and for having comprised themselves over the last year. For example, A. Barbiyev, chairman of the "Komintern" kolkhoz, Leninskiy Rayon, Osh Oblast, was removed from his position for unworthy conduct; T. Abdykzhoyev, director of the "Kichi-Kemin" sovkhoz, Keminskiy Rayon—for figure-padding and white-washing; and V.F. Zuyev, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Kalinskiy Rayon—for having compromised himself. We are trying to cleanse the leadership ranks of useless and unworthy people openly, relying on the primary party organizations, labor collectives and members of the elective authorities.

**QUESTION: How much has the qualitative make-up of cadres improved over this period?**

These days survey data are unfashionable, but they also say a great deal about people—not about everyone, but about many! These are objective data. They cannot be considered absolute, yet one cannot manage without them. There are now more specialists from production, agriculture, construction and other industrial sectors, workers with a party and political education and women among the personnel of the Central Committee nomenklatura. The national composition of cadres and the reserve is being improved. They have also become noticeably younger.

**QUESTION: Tell us, in as much detail as possible, about work with the cadre reserves in the republic party organization. What is least satisfactory in this work?**

Considering the large number of leaders replaced, the party committees are simply not succeeding in properly training the reserve. This does not indicate that cadre renovation should be stopped. You cannot stop life, restructuring... Yet, in many cases they objectively require fresh forces. In this situation, we must assist the young cadres more. However, most frequently we leave them to their own devices after promoting them, but still criticize them for poor work.

Note that the party committees have been working with the reserve more or less systematically and informally for less than 2 years. This does not justify our shortcomings, but it does explain them somewhat. During this time reserve schools have been created in all party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, in which 2,200 people have been trained, more than 500 of whom have been promoted to higher positions.

In a number of party raykoms and gorkoms this work has been set up fairly well. For example, in Pervomayskiy Rayon, Frunze, a reserve school system was created which reflects the specific nature of the rayon, in which the staffs of ministries, departments and many cultural and artistic institutions are concentrated. A head school operates in the raykom. In slightly less than 2 years, of its 49 graduates, 2 have become raykom personnel, 13 have been promoted to soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol positions, and 18 people have been included in the reserve for party raykom nomenklatura positions.

In forming the reserve, greater attention should be paid to those who have come from a working environment. Over 2 years, their number in the composition of the operative reserve for party and soviet agency leaders has increased by a third. Such a line fully accords with the spirit of democratization and satisfies requirements for social justice.

In the practical work of Central Committee, party obkom, gorkom and raykom departments, the trial period for workers, above all, those among the reserve personnel, has gone well. This year more than 1,700 people worked on a trial basis in the party committees, of which about 130 worked in Central Committee departments. As compared to 1985, the volume of training of the republic's cadre reserve through the country's higher party educational institutions has doubled.

The serious approach to the reserve makes it necessary to discover potential leaders, organizers and those able to lead people, while still in school, among the Komsomol and Pioneer aktiv and student production and Komsomol-youth collectives. The first steps in this direction have been taken, for example, by party organizations in Frunze. Several other places could also be named, but, after all, leaders are needed everywhere...

We are sometimes forced to relocate cadres along horizontal and vertical paths hastily, precisely because of the lack of a worthy reserve in the party committee ranks. At a plenum of the Sulyukta Party Gorkom, Osh Obkom, the Central Committee was criticized, for instance, regarding the fact that recently many leaders had been sent to Sulyukta from other party organizations in the republic. The criticism was fair. The city has cadres, but the gorkom ought to train them better. It is our task to help them with this.

In general, much work still awaits all of us, in order to have a solid "reserve bench."

Under the conditions of economic reform and profound democratization, the weakness of our work with cadres and the reserve is felt particularly strongly in the primary party organizations. Today it is simply impossible to overestimate their role in the labor collectives, the rights and responsibilities of which have grown unprecedentedly. In this regard, we must consider the fact that the primary and shop organizations and party groups are called upon to be the spirit and prime movers of restructuring. Yet are they all ready for this role? Alas... Helping them take their deserved place in the historical work to restructure all areas of social life is the most important and urgent task of party raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms, of the entire Central Committee staff, of each of us.

**QUESTION: The pace of restructuring in many ways is determined by the ability of cadres to utilize political leadership methods in economic and social processes. What problems are you seeing here?**

It must be noted that noticeable shifts have recently been observed in the mastery of political work methods in the party committees, but for the time being a fundamental turning point is still far away. Today this question has acquired exceptionally great significance. The CPSU Central Committee, in its Theses for the 19th All-Union Conference, has drawn attention to this as well.

The republic's party committees are freeing themselves of the administrative-pressure style with difficulty. Central Committee workers are no exception either. In this connection, serious criticism directed at us was expressed during the preparations for and holding of the 8th Central Committee Plenum. At first glance, fairly serious arguments were cited in justification of the obsolete style: the party agencies, so they say, are made strictly and specifically responsible for economic matters, and therefore they must be specifically and directly involved, otherwise you should expect failure...

At the same time, levers of party influence in these very same economic matters, are being underestimated and quite insufficiently utilized, such as increasing the competency and responsibility of economic cadres;

- strengthening the role of primary party organizations and of all party members and soviet, trade union and Komsomol agencies in improving and monitoring production;
- subordinating ideological work to the tasks of the economic reform and increasing its effectiveness;
- and strengthening party control over economic activity at various levels.

After all, these are the basic functions of the party committees as agencies of political leadership. It stands to reason, along with developing a strategy for the socioeconomic development of the region and the labor

collective on the basis of the party's economic and social policy on the whole, to take the specific nature of the region, the collective and their tasks, problems and reserves into consideration.

Yet at times many of our colleagues have either the time nor the attention to fulfill their basic functions, since they are substituting for one person, doubling for another, taking up the responsibilities of economic campaign dispatchers, and then find themselves catching up for the economic planners as well.

We are often forced to caution against such an approach, for example, that of comrade A.P. Khrestenkov, Issyk-Kul Obkom first secretary; of the first secretaries of Alemedinskiy, Dzety-Oguzskiy, Panfilovskiy, and Suzakskiy Party Raykoms and of the Kyzyl-Kiya Party Gorkom, comrades O.A. Isayev, T. Abdykadyrov, K. Kokoyev, A. Salibayev, I. Zhusubaliyev, and many others. As a rule, they all work very hard and know the locations of fields, farms, construction sites, the condition of the crops and the economic problems of the collectives in detail. However, they are poorly preparing and getting to know the cadres, have little influence on the state of affairs in primary party organizations, do not guide them from day to day, and do not help to set up political work with the people, etc.

We must convince each party leader of the fact that without a mastery of political methods it is impossible to ensure full-blooded party leadership in all social areas. The leadership's task, that of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, is to help the cadres restructure their work and provide an example of the approach to solving all questions from party positions, through political methods.

**QUESTION. How does the review of primary party organizations help to solve this problem?**

The review is primarily aimed at increasing their role in implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the struggle for economic reform and democratization. It unquestionably contributes to strengthening political principles in party leadership, above all, through the work of labor collectives. Moreover, it induces raykoms and gorkoms, in the first place, to devote great attention to the basic party unit and to involving all party members in specific work on restructuring, particularly through individual conversations with communists.

**QUESTION: Is it possible to say that today the republic party organization has already worked out a mechanism for cadre work which makes it possible to exclude promotion to leading positions based on kinship, nationality or personal friendship?**

As the 8th Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum noted, such phenomena have basically been successfully eliminated. Virtually all plenums of other party committees of the republic which discussed reports on the leadership of restructuring evaluated the situation approximately thus. The struggle against protectionism and favoritism based on nationality, kinship and friendship is being assisted by the practice now being asserted of preliminary discussion of candidatures for promotion in the primary party organizations and labor collectives, and of consultation with the broad aktiv. This does not mean that all promotions are being thus implemented today. Deviations from this practice for the present time have not been successfully eliminated.

The Central Committee Buro's approach to the solution of cadre problems should also be mentioned. As a rule, rather than make a decision, the buro members hold a council and discuss, in a working procedure, the candidature for promotion or transfer. If any questions or doubts arise during this process, it is possible to elaborate on some things and to additionally consult with Central Committee members and the local aktiv before making the decision. This creates conditions for the more profound study and well-considered evaluation of workers' political and practical qualities, and makes it possible to avoid great errors.

However, it would be incorrect to claim that an objective and unbiased approach to cadres is displayed in all cases. In particular, one can still find communists, both leaders and rank-and-file, who evaluate the people being considered for promotion in an insufficiently responsible and principle-minded fashion. In this regard, worthiness is often raised too high, while faults are glossed over. The reverse approach also occurs, but less frequently. Therefore, individual manifestations of protectionism, bias based on friendship, and excessive forgivingness—on the one hand, and the censure of workers—on the other, have not been consigned to the archives once and for all, although they are no longer frequently encountered now.

**QUESTION. What, in your opinion, are the most effective means of preventing these negative phenomena?**

In solving cadre problems—the further development of glasnost and genuine collectivism. We are still using far from all the opportunities here. The more profound teaching of practical, political and moral qualities to cadres and the reserve should play an important role. This is necessary in order properly to discover and fully utilize the talents and possibilities of each person, to reveal the weaknesses and shortcomings of workers in a timely manner and to help them overcome these. Or, in order to rid ourselves of casual, unworthy people in the leadership in time, without waiting while they obstruct matters once and for all or compromise themselves through excessive misdemeanors.

It may seem paradoxical, but many party committees are hardly involved at all in specifically and systematically teaching cadres, and some of our colleagues also do not know how to do this properly. They interact with leaders formally and, out of a false delicacy, try not to touch upon the individual aspects of their life and work. This is obviously harming the situation.

Thus, after half a year of work, K.O. Mamyrganov, head of the department for administrative and trade-finance organs of the Naryn Party Obkom, was removed from his position for violations of socialist legality and neglect of his official duties which occurred while he was being investigated. For an entire 6 months, U.Sh. Baratov worked as head of the agricultural department of the Talasskiy Party Raykom, before he was removed from the position for having compromised himself. In the last year in the Central Committee nomenklatura alone seven party workers, including 2 party raykom first secretaries, were released from work due to negative reasons, although earlier they had not been characterized other than positively. These facts have been reported by the press.

In 1985 in Toktogulskiy Rayon, A. Batyrbekov, director of the "Dzhety-Suu" sovkhoz was released for figure-padding, a shortfall in the number of livestock and violations of financial discipline. On the party raykom's recommendation, the farm was headed by M. Egizov, buro member and people's control committee chairman. However, after 2 years he was also released from this position for similar violations. During the period that he worked there, 68,000 rubles were embezzled from sovkhoz funds, for which reason criminal proceedings were instituted. In the same rayon, E. Seydimyrzayev, director of the "Naryn" sovkhoz, raykom buro member, former RAPO chairman, was unable to cope with his responsibilities.

In adhering to Leninist principles in cadre work, we must more persistently increase the personal responsibility of leaders for the assigned task, fulfillment of party resolutions, and strict observance of party and state discipline and of the norms of socialist morality. A spot check, performed in the republic at the beginning of this year by a group of party control committee workers under the CPSU Central Committee, indicated that our party committees are permitting serious errors in this area. This had already been noted by the 9th Central Committee Plenum in materials regarding the fulfillment of criticisms and suggestions.

Many letters and specific suggestions on the cadre problem are being received by the Kirghiz CP Central Committee and the republic newspapers on the eve of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Here are a few of them: "We must decisively free ourselves of careerists, unscrupulous people, obsequious people and toadies..." "Glasnost must be more broadly developed in work with the cadre reserves and the lists of candidates for promotion should be printed in the party press. Conditions

must be created under which each member of the collective will be able to study the candidates being considered for promotion to leadership work." "Restructuring is being obstructed by excessive servility to rank, which we must decisively eliminate..." etc. These and many other suggestions warrant the most intent attention of party committees and primary party organizations. Their implementation will help to more rapidly raise all cadre work to the level of contemporary requirements.

13362

### **Uzbek Supreme Soviet Details Republic Government Reorganization**

18300412 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
28 Jul 88 p 1

[Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree, signed by Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman P. Khabibullayev and Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary L. Bekkulbekova: "Changes in the System of Organs of State Government of the Uzbek SSR"]

[Text] In order to perfect the administration of the economy of the Uzbek SSR, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. That the following be established:

—a republic Uzbek SSR Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways [Ministerstvo avtomobilnogo transporta i dorozhnogo khozyaystva Uzbekskoy SSR], abolishing the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Motor Transport [Ministerstvo avtomobilnogo transporta Uzbekskoy SSR] and the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Construction and Maintenance of Highways [Ministerstvo stroitelstva i ekspluatatsii avtomobilnykh dorog Uzbekskoy SSR];

—a union-republic Uzbek SSR Ministry of Public Education [Ministerstvo narodnogo obrazovaniya Uzbekskoy SSR], abolishing the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Education [Ministerstvo prosveshcheniya Uzbekskoy SSR], the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education [Ministerstvo vyshego i srednego spetsialnogo obrazovaniya Uzbekskoy SSR], and the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po professionalno-tekhnicheskomu obrazovaniyu];

—a union-republic Uzbek SSR State Committee for Land Reclamation and Water Resources [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po melioratsii i vodnomu khozyaystvu], abolishing the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources [Ministerstvo melioratsii i vodnogo khozyaystva Uzbekskoy SSR];

—a union-republic Uzbek SSR State Construction Committee [Gosudarstvennyy stroitelnyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR], abolishing the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Construction [Ministerstvo stroitelstva Uzbekskoy SSR], Uzbek SSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry [Ministerstvo promyshlennosti stroitelnykh materialov Uzbekskoy SSR], Uzbek SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po delam stroitelstva], Uzbek State Committee for Water Resources Construction [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po vodokhozyaystvennomu stroitelstvu], and the Uzbek SSR Main Administration for Construction in Tashkent [Glavnoe upravleniye Uzbekskoy SSR po stroitelstvu v g. Tashkente];

—a union-republic Uzbek SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Supply [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po trudu i sotsialnomu obespecheniyu], abolishing the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Social Supply [Ministerstvo sotsialnogo obespecheniya Uzbekskoy SSR] and the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po trudu i sotsialnym voprosam].

2. That the union-republic Uzbek SSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po obespecheniyu nefteproduktami] be transformed into the republic Uzbek SSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po obespecheniyu nefteproduktami].

3. That the following be abolished:

—the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Furniture and Wood-Processing Industry [Ministerstvo mebelnoy i derevoobrabatyvayushchey promyshlennosti Uzbekskoy SSR];

—the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Power and Electrification [Ministerstvo energetiki i elektrifikatsii Uzbekskoy SSR];

—the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Cinematography [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po kinematografii];

—the Uzbek SSR State Committee for the Fish Industry [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po rybnomu khozyaystvu];

—the Uzbek SSR Main Administration for Foreign Tourism [Glavnoye upravleniye Uzbekskoy SSR po inostrannomu turizmu].

4. That changes and additions be introduced into the Uzbek SSR Statute of 21 December 1978 "On the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers" (Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Register, 1978, No 36, art. 527; No 21, art. 248; 1980 No 13, art. 194; 1981, No 10, art. 178; No 16, art. 324; No 33, art. 646; 1982, No 12, art. 218; 1983, No 30, art. 475; No 36, art. 542; 1984, No 33, art. 463; 1985, No 3, art. 20; No 34, art. 44; 1986, No 19, art. 239; 1987, No 18, art. 187; No 34, art. 372; 1988, No 4, art. 53), setting

forth articles 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29 in the following edition:

**Article 25. Union-Republic Ministries of the Uzbek SSR**

The union-republic ministries of the Uzbek SSR include:

Ministry of Internal Affairs [Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del],

Ministry of Health [Ministerstvo zdravookhraneniya],

Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Ministerstvo inostrannykh del],

Ministry of Culture [Ministerstvo kultury],

Ministry of Light Industry [Ministerstvo legkoy promyshlennosti],

Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work [Ministerstvo montaznykh i spetsialnykh stroitelnykh rabot],

Ministry of Public Education [Ministerstvo narodnogo obrazovaniya],

Ministry of Communications [Ministerstvo svyazi],

Ministry of Trade [Ministerstvo trgovli],

Ministry of Finance [Ministerstvo finansov],

Ministry of Grain Products [Ministerstvo khleboproduktov],

and Ministry of Justice [Ministerstvo yustitsii].

**Article 26. Republic Ministries of the Uzbek SSR**

The republic ministries of the Uzbek SSR include:

Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways [Ministerstvo avtomobilnogo transporta i dorozhnogo zhkoyaystva],

Ministry of Consumer Service [Ministerstvo bytovogo obsluzhivaniya naseleniya],

Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services [Ministerstvo zhilishchno-kommunalnogo khozyaystva],

and Ministry of Local Industry [Ministerstvo mestnoy promyshlennosti].

**Article 27. Union-Republic State Committees of the Uzbek SSR**

The union-republic state committees of the Uzbek SSR include:

Uzbek SSR State Agroindustrial Committee [Gosudarstvennyy agropromyshlennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR],

Uzbek State Planning Committee [Gosudarstvennyy planovyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR],

Uzbek SSR State Construction Committee [Gosudarstvennyy stroitelnyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR],

Uzbek State Committee for Material-Technical Supply [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po materialno-tekhnicheskomu snabzheniyu],

Uzbek State Committee for Land Reclamation and Water Resources [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po melioratsii i vodnomu khozyaystvu],

Uzbek SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Supply [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po trudu i sotsialnomu obespecheniyu],

Uzbek SSR State Committee for Statistics [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po statistike],

Uzbek State Committee for Prices [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po tsenam],

Uzbek SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po televideniyu i radioveshchaniyu],

Uzbek SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po delam izdatelstv, poligrafii i knizhnoy trgovli],

Uzbek SSR Committee of State Security (KGB) [Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti Uzbekskoy SSR],

Uzbek SSR State Committee for the Preservation of Nature [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po okhrane prirody],

Uzbek SSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po nadzoru za bezopasnym vedeniyem rabot v promyshlennosti i gornomu nadzoru],

and Uzbek State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po fizicheskoy kulture i sportu].

**Article 28. Republic State Committees of the Uzbek SSR**

The republic state committees of the Uzbek SSR includes the Uzbek State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products [Gosudarstvennyy komitet Uzbekskoy SSR po obespecheniyu nefteproduktami].

#### Article 29. Other Organs Subordinate to the Uzbek SSR

Council of Ministers Subordinate to the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers are main administrations, departments for affairs of economic and social-cultural construction under the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, and other organs, in accordance with legislation of the Uzbek SSR.

12255

#### Official Outlines Composition of Moldavian Party Cadres

18000543a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Jul 88 p 2

[Moldavian Telegraph Agency (ATEM) correspondent interviews Oleg Aleksandrovich Krokhn, assistant to the chief of the Party Organizational Work Department of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, "In the Spirit of Leninist Requirements"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The Party line on expanding openness and extending democracy has aroused public consciousness and set all levels of society into motion. There are fewer and fewer people who are passive or indifferent toward political life and the people have many questions concerning all aspects of the restructuring which is spreading in our country. Individual collectives and the workers of the republic are displaying greater interest in the forms, methods and principles of contemporary cadre policy and its nationalistic, professional and mature aspects.

In connection with this, an ATEM correspondent asked O. A. Krokhn, assistant to the chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee's Party Organizational Work Department, to answer several questions.

[Question] Oleg Aleksandrovich, please tell us how cadre policy is conducted at the present time and what is typical of this policy in the republic's party organizations.

[Answer] The special nature of contemporary cadre policy in the party committees of the republic, to a decisive degree, is determined by the atmosphere of our lives today and by the spirit of the political and socio-economic transformation which has been underway since April, 1985. The style, forms and methods of the work of the Central Committee, the party gorkoms and rajkoms, and the primary party organizations have been directed toward increasing the political maturity of the cadres, raising their deep awareness of the novelty and scope of restructuring and their accountability for the practical accomplishment of those tasks which, first and foremost, would promote satisfaction of the vital needs of the workers, mending of the moral and spiritual atmosphere, and renewal of all aspects of life.

The resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the January (1985) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee are basic to this work. The party has adopted a policy of democratization, openness, and glasnost in selecting personnel and in preparing for leadership of various work sections people who are capable of managing at the level demanded today and of achieving the goals which have been set. We have every opportunity to carry out this democratization. In Moldavia there are nearly 200,000 specialists with university and secondary special education and more than 110,000 of them are party members or candidates for CPSU membership. The republic party membership includes 190 doctors of science and more than 2,000 science candidates.

The CPSU charter statute on the participation of primary party work sections in resolving the issues of promotion and reshuffling of officials is getting active practical application. Party committees and bureaus are working in close contact with all communists, labor collective soviets, and the public. This is something new and it is too early to speak about its general effectiveness. The Central Committee, however, is directing the party organizations toward using this process to promote development of the beginnings of self government and to increase accountability for the assigned portion of their work and toward exerting a serious, positive influence over affairs in the labor collectives.

Collective leadership and openness in the resolution of personnel problems has been extended significantly. Many primary party organizations and party gorkoms and rajkoms have advertised in the mass media the cadre labor reserves forecast for the long term and then discussed them at party meetings and party committee plenums. It is becoming a rule that the Central Committee and the lower level collective leadership organs of the party consider the opinions of communists and the labor collectives about whomever they plan to promote. In this plan, they themselves favorably recommended surveys and socialists referendums.

The practice of electing party, soviet, and executive leaders by secret ballot from several nominations in order to fill posts is being consolidated in the republic. One third of replacement managers in 1986 and 1987 were elected from a list of several candidates. The Benderskiy city and Frunzenskiy rajon party committees and a number of others, in their work with the cadres, have made important strides on the path to restructuring. They regularly conduct "back-up man weeks", operate local schools to train personnel supervisors, and widely practice interview, certification, probationary and other kinds of interesting work. The work method of the Benderskiy City Committee and other party committees has been approved by the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and recommended for widespread use.

With the goal of improving the political level of the cadres, measures are being adopted to augment the assignment of young, future workers to higher party

schools. If 30-35 had been sent from the republic in past years, they would now number more than 100. Besides this, the contingent of personnel taking training courses under the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee to raise qualifications is being increased significantly.

The party organizations are paying particular attention to the education of their personnel. With this goal in mind, it has become commonplace for supervisors to report before communists and labor collectives. In this matter, the roles of critique and self criticism are increasing.

At the same time, improvement in restructuring work with the cadres is being accomplished slowly. We still have not learned properly to seek out and promote gifted people or to avoid miscalculations and mistakes in the selection and education of supervisory workers. In a number of instances, collectivism is observed only as a formality without substance, and public opinion is not always considered.

The documents of the 19th All-Union Party Conference are used as a powerful incentive to overcome these and other shortcomings. They point directly to the need for a serious renewal of cadre policy. Organization of the training and retraining of personnel and their education, taking into account possible recommendations for jobs in accordance with democratic principles, must become the primary work method of the party committees.

[Question] The documents of the 19th All-Union Party Conference stress the necessity, in the spirit of Leninist requirements, for taking a hard line on the representation of all nations and peoples in the party, state, trade union, komsomol, and executive organs so that the composition of the leading cadres more fully reflects the nationalist composition of the republics, krays, oblasts, and so on. Some people who like to spread stories contend that, in defining the leading organs at various levels, the rights of the native nationality are deliberately infringed upon. Individual blunders, mistakes, and distortions, which were emphasized as being intolerable at the 5th Plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, are represented by these people as official policy. What can you say about this issue and, in general, about the quality of the personnel of the leading cadres?

[Answer] Today there are 1432 jobs on the Central Committee register. These include leading party and soviet workers, heads of ministries, departments and public organizations, party committee secretaries, directors of a number of large scale industrial, construction, transportation, and communications enterprises, heads of VUZes, scientific institutions, and theatrical collectives, and chairmen of creative unions. By the way, over the past 3 years the number of jobs to which personnel are appointed or from which they are relieved with the concurrence of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee has been reduced by a factor of 2 and one

half. This is connected with the idea of greater independence and accountability in the selection of personnel by soviet and executive organs and by local party committees.

Regarding the quality of personnel in the republic's leading cadres, at the present time 99.6 percent of them have a university education, including one fourth who have higher party and political education; one in fourteen is a candidate of sciences. Over the past three years the cadre body has become notably younger and the number of workers under 30 years of age has doubled.

The composition of the leading cadres has stabilized essentially and there has been a sharp drop in turnovers. The nationalities which live in the republic are widely represented among the leading workers, so much so that today 71 percent of party gorkom and raykom first secretaries are Moldavians and 24 percent are Russians and Ukrainians. Also, two Bulgarians and one Gagauz have been elected as first secretaries. Among the chairmen of ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of peoples' deputies, 67 percent are Moldavians, 13 percent Russians, 16 percent Ukrainians, and 2 percent each Bulgarians and Gagauz. Of deputies to the MSSR Supreme Soviet, 64.2 percent are Moldavians; 73.5 percent in the local soviets. The picture is similar with regard to trade union and komsomol leaders. On the whole, over the last 3 years, the number of representatives from the native nationalities among all primary categories of leading workers has increased. For information purposes, the following data shows the national composition of the republic's population according to the last census: 63.9 percent are Moldavians, 14.2 percent Ukrainians, 12.8 percent Russians, 3.5 percent Gagauz, 2 percent Bulgarians, and 3.6 percent other nationalities. In the republic party organization, 47.2 percent of the register is made up of Moldavians, 22.5 percent Russians, 20.9 percent Ukrainians, 2.4 percent Bulgarians, 2.3 percent Gagauz, and 4.7 percent other nationalities.

At the same time, one cannot say that there are no problems today in setting up the republic's cadre body. We cannot but see the negative features here. Our process of promoting women to supervisory jobs is going slowly; responsible jobs still are not boldly entrusted to the young people everywhere; and few specialists with a legal, medical, journalistic, trade or economic education are taking up party or soviet work.

In short, defining the composition of the leading cadres and working with them is a key issue of the activities of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. As was noted at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the selection, placement and education of cadre personnel was and is the number one party pursuit and the party does not intend to let this slip out of its hands.

The essence of change in working with the cadres today lies first of all in conducting personnel policy properly, in a modern way and continuously tied to the demands of



restructuring. The main thing right now is to try to get to the point where each party and executive work section is headed by people devoted to the party and the nation, genuine innovators who fully recognize the need for qualitative change in society and who are capable of overcoming inertia and breaking from routine to pursue a policy of renewal of all aspects of our lives.

13254

### **Promoting 'Regional Khozraschet' in Moldavia Urged**

*18000508 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 2*

[Article by A. Budyanu and A. Gudym, candidates of economic sciences: "Regional Interests and Responsibility"]

[Text] The radical economic reform that is being carried out in our country includes, as an extremely important element of it, the restructuring of economic management in every union republic—the basic unit of the USSR's territorial structure, the unit in which the economic aspects, among others, of the Soviet state's nationalities policy, are carried out. In the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th Party Congress, a broad range of questions were submitted for discussion connected with the strengthening of the territorial aspect of management on a qualitatively new basis: decentralization and the maximum transfer to the local level of many managerial functions: the formation of plans according to a new methodology, structure and system of indices "from below"—from enterprises, cities and rayons; the implementation of new organizational management plans; the expansion of the material and financial capabilities of the local soviets, etc. The theoretical basis for all these actions, the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee state, lies "in the organic combination of the independence of union and autonomous republics and other national formations with their responsibility for all-union state interests."

The economy is our main concern; it is constantly at the center of our thoughts, discussions and practical deeds now. And that is understandable: we face the complex task of improving the economic atmosphere and turning development toward benefiting the people.

The time has passed when an enterprise, branch or republic could carry out economic operations without bringing outlays into line with results, resolve production questions at the expense of social ones, and make up for a shortage of resources at the state's expense. And in the Moldavian SSR the possibilities of developing extensively have been practically exhausted. Since the mid-1970s, limitations on all types of resources—labor, capital investments and natural resources—have been manifesting themselves more and more clearly. The return from money that has already been invested is far

from complete (this is especially noticeable in the agroindustrial complex). The factor of scientific and technical progress is not fully making itself felt. For several five-year periods in a row the social sphere developed at lagging rates.

Our common desire to draw lessons from the past and, under the conditions of Moldavia, achieves results in restructuring and find the best and most economically effective and socially significant paths for it to take is understandable. The dynamics, qualities and costs of economic growth have become a topic of discussion: Aren't our economic operations producing a net loss? What is the role of industrial enterprises that are under union subordination? How can we cope with negative processes in demography, population settlement and nature utilization? And shouldn't we make it so the republic's population has greater rights in disposing of the national income created within its territory?

The requirement of achieving the highly effective, comprehensive development of the union republics' economies on a planned and carefully thought-out basis is objective in nature. The region as a "combined economic system based on the principles of maximum efficiency"—that goal was set back in Lenin's plan for the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia. And now the possibility of achieving maximum efficiency and social progress in a region is based both on the new content of the factors of economic growth (scientific and technological progress, structural and investment policy, the level of training of personnel, the potential for the all-union cooperative deployment of labor), and on the immeasurably higher level of economic and social development of the republics themselves.

Indeed, for all the costs and complexities of the previous period, the economy of the Moldavian SSR advanced. Thus, with a population increase of 36 percent in the MoSSR for 1961-1985, the republic's national income increased by a factor of 4.2 (as compared to a factor of 3.9 for the country as a whole), as a result of which the average per capita national income rose from 60 percent to 88 percent of the union average. That is seventh place among the union republics.

Did our economy operate at a loss during those years? By no means. For example, profits in the republic's economy rose by a factor of 2.8 over 1971-1985, and most branches operated at a profit. The all-union importance of Moldavia's agroindustrial complex has remained stable, exceeding all-union per capita production by a factor of 1.5 in agricultural output and by a factor of 2.0 in food-industry output. One-fourth of its gross output goes into all-union circulation.

The dynamic nature of the regional economy is determined for the most part by the processing industry, which in recent five-year periods has provided for about 50 percent of the increment in national income (and a

stable increment, in contrast to the agroindustrial complex). And such branches as machine building and light industry have provided more than 70 percent of the new jobs in industry, provided higher and more stable wages, and eliminated the seasonal nature of work.

Enterprises under union subordination sited in Moldavia are for the most part machinery enterprises (electronics, instrument making, electrical equipment, the production of machinery for the agroindustrial complex, etc.). It is machine building, increasing production output by a factor of 1.5-2.0 over each of the previous five-year periods, that sped up the formation of a scientific and technological microclimate in the republic, the development of a network of research institutes and design bureaus, and the training of engineers, technicians and workers. Union industry channeled considerable resources into the construction of housing and the building up of cities. Of course, they could have been greater, but it also must be taken into account that union industry's share of the production of the MoSSR's national income comes to only 18 percent, which is less than in other republics.

The step-up in the republic's industrial development has resulted in the fact that back in the 1970s Moldavia ceased to be the most rural republic. The percentage of the urban population rose from 23 percent in 1960 to 47 percent in 1987. And this occurred mainly through rural-urban migration within the republic, which contributed, incidentally, to increasing (and not decreasing, as is sometimes thought) the proportion of persons of indigenous nationality in most cities. The following statistical data confirm this: whereas until the mid-1970s 7-9 percent of the overall annual increase in the republic's population was due to an influx from outside the republic, starting in 1975 and continuing until the present time, the population increase in the republic has occurred mainly through natural growth. Moreover, the balance of interregional migration in recent years has been steadily negative (the organized recruitment of labor resources for northern and eastern regions, departures for studies and service in the army, changes in places of residence, etc.) and comes to several thousand persons a year.

The social effectiveness of the regional economy cannot always be expressed quantitatively. Let us note, however, that over the eighth through 11th five-year plan periods, the comparison of the growth rates of the basic indices of the MoSSR's social and economic development to average union rates (rates of growth of nonproduction fixed assets, real per capita income, payments and subsidies from public consumption funds, retain trade turnover) has been in favor of the republic. Thus, the level of the MoSSR population's real income, as compared to the average union level, rose by 20 percent over this period. A process of drawing closer is occurring, but the normative level of development has not yet been reached in many branches of the nonproduction sphere.

And reserves must be sought in the republic, at the local level. It is no secret that several five-year periods in a row in the republic have been marked by a lag in the growth of the productivity of social labor behind the growth in earnings and in the population's real income, a reduction of the share of investments in the nonproduction sphere, and the relatively poor quality of consumer goods, which are in considerable part purchased locally (clothing, footwear, foodstuffs, household appliances), as well as of consumer services.

The restructuring of the regional economy on the basis of the new economic mechanism and improvement of the forms and methods of economic work is gaining force in the republic. Starting this year, 1988, the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) has gone into effect, and planning, material and technical supply and finance and credit relations are being carried out with a view to that law. The economic reform has already encompassed about 60 percent of the labor collectives in the material-production sphere. One-third of all industrial enterprises, at which nearly half of all industrial output is produced, are operating according to the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing. The branches involved include river transportation, communications and trade. Wholesale trade in means of production is being actively introduced.

The new general plan for economic management that is being implemented by the end of this year will make it possible to reduce the number of ministries and departments by one-third, cut their number of structural subdivisions in half, and reduce the overall size of the management apparatus by 30 percent. Cost-accounting actions by local soviets are manifesting themselves more and more actively. The *ispolkoms* of Belts, Sorokskiy and Drokiyevskiy rayons and 35 settlement and village soviets in six of the republic's rayons have taken the initiative to shift to self-financing and the formation of local budgets on the basis of stable normative rates.

Cost-accounting principles are giving labor collectives incentives to work to attain high end results. Profits for the MoSSR economy in 1985-1987 more than doubled, and the number of enterprises that operate at a loss was reduced. However, 14 percent of the enterprises and organizations finished 1987 with a total loss of 90 million rubles. There have been lags behind the five-year plan and general economic indices: in the rate of growth of national income, the volume of agricultural output and the utilization of capital investments, including capital investments in the social sphere.

Drawing lessons from the initial stage of restructuring, the CPSU Central Committee's Theses note, "It is necessary to accelerate the solution of problems on which complete implementation of the principles of the economic reform depends." It seems that movement in this direction could be sped up through improvement of the mechanism for influencing the system of interests—of labor collectives, local soviets and the republic as a

whole—and through the broad democratization of management, planning and the operation of enterprises under the conditions of cost accounting.

As is known, by 1 January 1989 the transition of all the republic's branches of material production to the principles of cost accounting and self-financing is supposed to be completed, and the introduction of the new economic mechanism will begin in the nonproduction sphere (including science) and the territorial units. As a result, by the end of the five-year period the whole economic complex of the Moldavian SSR will be operating on the basis of cost accounting.

Does this mean a movement toward autarky and a closed economy? And how correct is the desire expressed in the Appeal by the republic's writers' to the 19th All-Union Party Conference that "the republic's population be the complete master of the national wealth created within its territory"?

As a figurative concept, the concept of the "complete master" can be accepted, but clarifications regarding the essence of the matter are required here.

The Moldavian SSR economy, as an economic entity that is being drawn into the orbit of the economic reform, is dual in nature. On the one hand, it is a part of the USSR's unified national economic complex, and the development of the regional economy is dependent upon the unity of overall state goals and the all-union division and cooperative utilization of labor. On the other hand, the economy of each republic is a relatively independent subsystem—a territorial economic complex that is characterized by a special combination of growth factors and specific economic interests and specific development goals.

Under the new conditions, the interaction of these two aspects of the functioning of the republic's economy is undergoing changes both in planning and in commodity-money relations. The concept of the "state order" as part of the all-union economic plan is applicable not only to the enterprise but also to the republic. It expresses the need to satisfy requirements that have priority for the country. The state order is supported by resources on a priority basis. It is also of no small importance that conditions are created so that work on the state order will be the most economically advantageous.

At the same time, the regional interests determined by the objective necessity of providing for the comprehensive and balanced development of the economy and the socially effective interaction of production, the population and the natural environment within a given territory should also be taken into account on a planning and cost-accounting basis.

The question of the "relations between the center and the regions," as is known, was raised back by V. I. Lenin, who, while stressing that "the Soviet regime by no means

intends to belittle the importance of local government and kill its independence and initiative" ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 22), nonetheless firmly defended the need for a statewide plan and budget and "centralism in what is serious, what is major and what is most important."

The economic cooperation of the Moldavian SSR with the all-union economy is close and diverse. On the one hand, it manifests itself in the fact that one-third of the resources—equipment, fuel of all types, metal, timber, chemical products, etc.—used in the republic's material production are shipped in from other regions of the USSR (that is the highest figure for any of the union republics). And on the other hand, that cooperation is expressed in deliveries of the output of the branches in which Moldavia specializes—electric power, machinery products, furniture, garments and footwear, foodstuffs—to all-union stocks and for export. According to the figures of the MoSSR interbranch balance, the value of the output shipped into the republic exceeded the value of that shipped out by 341 million rubles (in current prices), on the average, over the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, by 422 million rubles, on the average, in the 11th Five-Year Plan, and by more than 700 rubles in 1986.

The cooperation is equally close in the context of the budget. The republic takes part in the formation of statewide financial resources (for developing natural resources in the northern and eastern regions, for defense, the training of personnel, etc.), and when necessary (the latest example was in dealing with the consequences of the earthquake) it receives assistance itself from the union budget.

What does a policy of regional cost accounting mean under these conditions? How can the independence of each union republic best be combined, in the formation of the national budget, with responsibility for all-union interests?

It should be admitted that existing procedure, whereby every year the total sum and amounts of deductions from statewide revenues to the republic budget have been determined in the course of approving the USSR State Budget, is not without its shortcomings. Frequently the republics have stated a need for capital investments without showing any concern for their sources. And it has become customary to cover the gap between expenditures and a republic's own revenues by drawing on statewide revenues and taxes.

At the present time a situation exists in the country whereby about half of the revenue part of the republics' budgets is formed from deductions from statewide revenues. And whereas in 1980 subsidies were allocated only to the Kazakh SSR, in 1988 they were already allocated to five union republics.

We have a subsidy-free budget in our republic. Let us note, however, that of the 1.5 billion rubles in all-union revenues received within the MoSSR in 1988 in the form of turnover taxes, 87.7 percent is being transferred to the republic budget.

At the present time, the USSR State Planning Committee and USSR Ministry of Finance are developing the principles and normative basis for the self-financing of territories. It has been deemed necessary for relations between the union budget and the republics' budgets to be constructed on the basis of long-term normative rates. Starting in 1989, the principles of normative relations with the union budget will be introduced as an experiment in the Estonian SSR, the Latvian SSR, the Georgian SSR, the city of Moscow and individual oblasts of the RSFSR.

Our republic's government has instructed economic agencies to study the possibilities of the Moldavian SSR's shifting to new relations with the union budget, whereby the formation of budget expenditures would be made directly dependent on moneys earned and receipts from the all-union fund in accordance with stable, long-term normative rates.

A preliminary evaluation has shown that the republic's budget can cover 71 percent of its expenditures with its own revenues and 90 percent of its expenditures with the use of deductions from state taxes. In order to shift to the principles of territorial self-financing, the republic needs to find another 350-400 million rubles in revenues.

The point of departure in this work is to raise the profitability of each enterprise (especially within the system of the State Agroindustrial Committee)—after all, more than 90 percent of the republic's budget revenues are formed from payments from profits, the turnover tax and other receipts. In order to strengthen the cost-accounting basis, a special financial-improvement program has been developed and approved by the government and is being carried out; it will make it possible to mobilize the necessary money in 1988-1989 and, thereby, create the conditions for the republic's transition to a footing of cost accounting.

The formation of the research basis has been begun. A research subdivision on the problems of financial planning and regional cost accounting has been set up at the Research Institute of Planning. A republic-wide scientific and practical conference aimed at generalizing the first stage in the restructuring of the economic mechanism is being prepared. A process of retraining practitioners in planning and finance and the personnel of enterprises and ispolkoms is under way.

The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th Party Conference set forth, among the principal means

of strengthening the powers of local soviets, the expansion of their material and financial capabilities. Local soviets are now shifting from "coordinating" to a real, cost-accounting-based cooperation with enterprises and organizations located within their territories. In 1988 payments from the profits of enterprises under union, union-republic and republic subordination will make up 14 percent of the revenues of local budgets. 33 enterprises under union subordination are already making payments from their profits into the budgets of cities and rayons. In the future this share will increase.

In addition to this, the incentives of local soviets to improve economic operations within their territories are being increased by the fact that the practice has been expanded of transferring to local budgets deductions from the trade turnover tax (in 1988 such deductions will make up 31.5 percent of the revenues of local budgets), from the overfulfillment of trade turnover plans, from the performance of paid services, and from the production within a given territory of consumer goods. Some ispolkoms (in Kishinev, for example), have established charges for enterprises' hiring of additional labor resources.

As enterprises shift to self-financing, in accordance with the Law on the Enterprise more than two-thirds of profits will remain at an enterprise's disposal, and the share of profits paid to the state budget will be reduced proportionally. This source of social development will continue to increase. Therefore, fuller use should be made of the right of city (rayon) ispolkoms to draw on part of the money left in collectives in the form of economic incentive funds. With the consent of labor collectives, it can be allocated for the construction of housing, medical and preschool institutions and cultural facilities, and for landscaping. The experience of Belts, where shareholders' money makes up 43-47 percent annually of the total volume of capital investments in the city's development, is noteworthy.

Exploration is continuing. And the feasibility of implementing one of the fundamental provisions of the economic reform—strengthening the relationship between the amount of resources allocated for the national republics' social development and the results of economic activities within their territories—is becoming increasingly evident.

The restructuring of the republic's economy is entering a critical period—the dimensions of the changes are drastically expanding, and the majority of labor collectives are being drawn into the reform's orbit. It is our common task to thoroughly and soberly evaluate the processes taking place, and to persistently and consistently implement the party's policy of radical transformations in economic and social development.

### Main Themes of Soviet Journalists' Conference Summarized

18300377 Moscow *ZHURNALIST* in Russian No 5, May 88 pp 81-84

[Report on scientific-practical conference held at the journalism department of Moscow State University by G. Lazutina, N. Mironenko, and L. Svitich under the rubric "Our Creative Union": "Journalism—87"; first three paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The scientific-practical conference held at the journalism department of Moscow University was devoted to analyzing the problems of the effectiveness of the press, television, and radio broadcasting in conditions of restructuring.

The organizers of the conference—the USSR Journalists' Union, USSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade], and the MGU journalism department—invited workers of central and local organs of mass information and propaganda and social scientists from the country's major scientific centers, professors, teachers, and scientific associates of university journalism faculties and departments, and party workers to participate in the 3 plenary and 25 section meetings.

At the conference about 200 reports and communications were heard and 5 roundtable discussions and traveling meetings were held. G. Lazutina, N. Mironenko, and L. Svitich tell about the work of the three sections.

#### On the Ethical Facets of the Profession

The section on the professional ethics of journalism worked within the framework of the traditional conference for the first time. Crucial pressing themes appeared in the program and the list of people giving reports included well-known names. So at least 50 people gathered at the "roundtable with sharp corners," which was formed by putting ordinary student tables together.

Speaking honestly, not all expectations were justified and not all themes were heard—journalists of the central newspapers (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA) did not take part in the section's work. Nonetheless the organizers of the conference and all those who became involved in reflection on the ethical aspects of journalist work in contemporary conditions remained satisfied. The content of the speeches, the tone of the discussion, and the excitement which marked the meeting's atmosphere gave food for thought and compelled people to reflect on the customary circumstances by seeing them from an unexpected side.

A complex of important ideas rang out in the report by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences D. Avraamov (the journal *ZHURNALIST*). He examined the pressing problems of professional ethics in the theoretical and

normative aspects. Of the many questions he raised, two aroused particular interest among the listeners. One dealt with the need to deepen, enrich, and make more Leninist the journalist's understanding of party-mindedness without equating it with the demand for diligent performance and blind obedience to the will of a particular management worker from the apparat, which at times nullifies efforts to take a principled moral position. The second dealt with the journalist's relations with the authors' aktiv and the notorious "zaavtorstvo" [arbitrary changes in an author's text].

This theme was developed in the report by the columnist of the newspaper KUZBASS (city of Kemerovo) T. Shatskaya. She cited convincing proof of how deeply the practice of "zaavtorstvo" has been instilled in editorial life. But the experience of searching for ways to overcome this sickness which she shared was most interesting. Recently this rule was formulated at the editorial office of the Kemerovo newspaper: the entire collective reads letters—journalists take turns on week-long mail duty and receiving visitors. This duty falls to each one two or three times a year. The opportunity appears, first, to get a broad view of the problems bothering people and, secondly, to find thoughtful non-staff authors who have a way with words and set up work with them on a new basis.

Professor V. Uchenova (MGU journalism department) gave a penetrating and vivid report. She examined the ethical problems which journalists face during the expansion of glasnost. What should the limits of glasnost be? How can the optimal correlation between a person's right to information and the right to personal or departmental secrecy be found? What are the real guideposts that can prevent journalists from becoming brazen or hypocritical? Finding the answers to these questions is a most pressing task, especially for researchers. But the primary concern of practical workers is to really master the area where glasnost has no limits: the activity of the soviets and the trade unions—institutions which have emerged as organs of public self-management, national or occupational. V. Uchenova proposed to go to the appropriate organizations with a petition to create local publications which would be directly subordinate to the USSR Committee of People's Control and would not be dependent on local authorities.

Four reports involved increasing the role of the journalist's moral qualities in the present situation. Candidate of Philological Sciences B. Yakovlev (Goskomizdat IPK [Institute for Improvement of Qualifications]) stressed how important it is to bring the moral demands on the journalist and the conditions in which he works into line. Docent G. Vychub (MGU journalism department) analyzed the factors influencing the journalist's ideological-moral choice and supported the basic idea of B. Yakovlev's speech. S. Khudyakov from RABOCHE-KRESTYANSKIY KORRESPONDENT acquainted those assembled with the results of a study of professionals' and readers' ideas (based on PRAVDA mail materials) of the priority moral qualities of the journalist.

Docent L. Kalashnikova (MGU journalism department) demonstrated the degree to which the depth, constructiveness, and topicality of a work of journalism and the force of its impact on the reader depend on the journalist's moral position, and the latter—on his moral sophistication.

The speech by the jurist K. Golubtsov aroused a great deal of animation; he called on journalists to remember that one of the most important demands of their professional duty today is to support the socially active individual who moves society along the path of renewal and defends those who in the struggle for the interests of restructuring frequently become victims of the supporters of the old ways who are quick to mete out punishment.

In her speech Docent G. Lazutina (MGU journalism department) showed how the moral climate of the editorial collective influences the development of young people. She stressed how great the responsibility of today's journalists is for the moral dependability of tomorrow's journalism.

The second part of the section's meeting became a collective search for ideas for the "Moral Code of the Soviet Journalist." Ideas on the structure of the code and its form were stated, the major moral qualities of the press worker were formulated and the main directions of the journalist's professional activity which should be morally regulated were revealed, and the particular positions were named. The material was passed on to the USSR Journalists' Union commission to develop the "Moral Code."

#### **"Children and Young People in the World of Mass Information"**

That was the theme of the roundtable discussion held by the section "Sociological Research on the Mass Information Media" and the Scientific Research Institute of General Pedagogy of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. The debate dealt with the most pressing problems of the interaction of journalists and pedagogues and the questions which were discussed at the February Plenum of the party.

The senior scientific associate of the Scientific Research Institute of General Pedagogy L. Shkolnik formulated the indoctrinational goals of journalism: social-humanitarian goals which help affirm the social position of the individual and activate people as subjects of the historical process are now becoming paramount.

The scientists of the Scientific Research Institute of General Pedagogy doctors of pedagogical sciences N. Novikova and B. Gershunskiy and head of the pedagogical experience laboratory Ya. Turbovskiy asserted that frequently the mass information media assume duties which only specialists can perform. They have reproached the press, especially UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA and Central Television, for, in their opinion,

incorrectly shaping mass pedagogical consciousness and extolling pedagogues who do not deserve it. The negative reaction of pedagogical scholars to propaganda work which newspapers, television, radio broadcasting, and journals are doing produced energetic objections. The very formulation of the assertion that UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA is usurping the right to cover questions involving pedagogy ignoring the specialists, as one of the participants in the debate put it, led to a dispute on the tasks of journalists and pedagogues.

Each person should do his own work well: pedagogues should teach and indoctrinate their wards and scientists in the field of pedagogy should summarize experience, study and introduce progressive methods, and disseminate the discoveries of innovators not only through special literature but also using the mass information media; while journalists are called upon to study the real processes and problems in the life of schools and VUZes, actively propagandize progressive methods of indoctrination and education, broadly enlisting the opinions of competent specialists, and hold discussion of the controversial questions and insure that restructuring in the field of education carves its way.

But journalists must not fail to heed the opinions of participants in the debate on the need for more professional and well-thought out coverage of the complex problems of indoctrination and education. Proposals were made to structure materials according to the laws of psychological-pedagogical interaction and to take into account the levels of readiness of the audience to accept certain information and its aims and value orientations and ethical aspects (during the creation of such programs as "A Quiz for Adults," for example). The question of the criteria for choosing the models for propagandizing progressive pedagogical experience is important.

Journalists have not yet recognized that the audience is not only an object of influence but also an active participant in the process of management and self-management of society, including with the use of the mass information media, and that the audience's make-up, interests, and expectations must be known very well, a real dialogue must be set up with it, and it must be actively involved in resolving all the problems which are bothering young people. And, in the opinion of the Estonian sociologists A. Saar and E. Org, one should remember that in the process of inclusion in ideological activity the individual identifies himself with the interests of society and the state and its institutions and on a personal level—with the position of the particular social group as well.

The data of a content analysis of the press and a survey of the audience showed that young people must be more extensively included in resolving crucial social problems. A survey of journalists of youth newspapers conducted by the MGU journalism department in five regions of the country showed that journalists themselves are aware

that they have done a poor job of mastering such methods of interaction with the youth audience as debate and dialogue and of mastering the ability to link publications with the concerns of life and the personal experience of the audience.

Another aspect of the question is that the problem areas covered by the youth mass information media must be expanded and deepened. This relates in particular to economic questions and young people's participation in the processes of scientific-technical progress.

The trouble with youth journalism is insufficient knowledge of its audience. Sociological research is rarely done. One of the few exceptions is Belorussia, where a broad comprehensive study of the problems of the youth press has been carried on in recent years. And, in 1987 research was repeated on the basis of the 1985 methodologies, which makes it possible to see the dynamics of the changes in the audience and the work of the youth mass information media. The Belorussian sociologists O. Manayev and N. Yefimova told about that.

Practical recommendations proposed were to create a council "Pedagogy and Mass Communication" and to arrange joint publications. Researchers were given the task of developing the structure of the functions of journalism in the field of pedagogy, studying psychological-pedagogical methods of interaction with the children and youth audience, and develop "passports" [descriptive lists] of different groups of the audience—the types, make-up, interests, expectations, orientations, and the like.

#### The Journal: What Should It Be Like?

The journal and its place in restructuring—that is how one of the main themes of the discussion held at the plenary and special section meetings on journal periodicals may be formulated.

The speakers noted that journals today are effective instruments of the democratization of society. Their specific features are the thoroughness and depth of the conversation with the reader and the possibility and capability of simultaneously presenting him with various viewpoints and commenting on them.

"Unlike university collections," N. Bikkenin, the editor in chief of the journal *KOMMUNIST*, emphasized in his speech, "the journal is not a set of articles but an organic whole where each article must perform a particular theoretical or political task. It is precisely from this standpoint that we approach the work, considering our main task to be interpreting what is happening in the sphere of economics, politics, and spiritual relations in our country. Performing this task today is incredibly complex."

A sociopolitical, ideological-worldview, or educational journal can influence the process of democratization not only by expanding glasnost, strengthening feedback with the reader, and fundamentally raising the level of openness in publications, but also by activating the civic thought of scientists who are studying the problems of social development, L. Semina, member of the editorial collegium and editor of the Marxist-Leninist theory propaganda department of the journal *MOLODOY KOMMUNIST*, noted in her talk.

The editor in chief of *KROKODIL* A. Pyanov talked about the great social responsibility of the journal and its ability not to simply intervene in life but in doing so to assume the role of builder of new social relations. "For a long time the sphere of influence of satire in our country was very low, and that in a country where a great national civitradition of satire exists. From this powerful cannon satirists fired not even at sparrows but at hummingbirds. And now, when areas closed to criticism have disappeared, journalists have proven to be unprepared for the changes. Figuratively speaking, we are only crippling our targets. Our instruments have proven to be poor ones and the stagnant years emasculated satire, distorted it, and reduced it to entertainment. The present task of satire and its role in restructuring will be determined by the degree to which we manage to typify the problems and models which have appeared in the process of democratization and glasnost."

In the country 1,557 journals are published. Approximately 70 new ones have appeared in the last 4 years alone. Journals are being born and rarely die. Unfortunately there are those whose circulation does not exceed 300 copies. Are they needed?—the participants in the conference asked. And what journals does restructuring need? Those which rely on "sensation"? Or should high competence and the aspiration to find a solution to key problems be made paramount?

A journal is a good one because of the clash of ideas on its pages—that is the viewpoint of the leader of the section of journals, member of the editorial collegium, and responsible secretary of the journal *ZHURNALIST* A. Shcherbakov. And *KOMMUNIST* is now becoming such a journal. The well thought-out concept of content and the ability to capture the specific features of the present moment and to present the audience with a broad spectrum of problems are all components of its success. A journal is the organizer and tribunal of social creative thought and a mouthpiece for the expression of innovative ideas.

Only the mutual cooperation of authors and readers will yield the necessary result, the speakers emphasized. But artificial "inflation" of the circulation, and frequently using what are by no means journalism materials, inhibits the initiative of the reader and ultimately his civic development. Controversiality, discussion of problems, the topicality of the articles, and attention to the expectations and interests of its reader must raise popularity.

The 27th CPSU Congress noted that the system of journals needs to be improved in a major way. This is not the first year that talks have been held on the typology of journal publications. But it has not yet been developed. In his speech the chief of the administration of periodical publications of USSR Goskomizdat V. Bogdanov cited a paradoxical fact: the journal VOKRUG SVETA, which has a circulation of 2.9 million copies, is in the third category, while PRIRODA I CHELOVEK (60,000 copies) is in the first. So what is fundamental in defining the category? That is certainly a question for scientists.

Unfortunately, many organizational questions involving the publication of journals have not been resolved. Even if attention is not focused on the weaknesses of printing facilities, because of which Soviet journals as a whole are not up to the present world standard of make-up, quite a few other crucial problems remain.

More than half of the speakers at the session were interested in the sectorial journals. It is time, the participants in the discussion proposed, to formulate a precise standard position on the sectorial journal which would characterize its purpose, reader audience, thematic structure, genre features, and principles and methods of work. The departmental affiliation of journals and the editorial office's lack of adequate rights in the development of the concept, the selection of cadres, and in labor payment are seriously hindering improving journals.

Today the sectorial journal should more and more determine the course of discussion of the problems of restructuring, take a firm position on it, and arouse the reader to debate. Many journal publications of the Lithuanian SSR have already reached this point. Along with the propaganda function, their organizational function has also grown substantially. V. Urbonas, senior scientific associate of Vilnius University and Yu. Lautsyus, editor in chief of the journal MOKSLAS IR TEHNIKA (Science and Technology) mentioned this.

The experience of the Baltic colleagues aroused a great deal of interest. However it must be noted that behind this interest was frequently an ordinary lack of professional information: what was long ago resolved in Lithuania and Estonia, for example, is still a stumbling block for Russian journalists. Even though merely turning to specialists was enough to solve many questions, as became clear in the course of the discussion. Thus, the representative of USSR Goskomizdat and leading editor of the periodical publications administration A. Zbarskiy and senior scientific associate of the Informpechat Scientific Research Center G. Petrov were able to give concrete recommendations right there at the meeting.

Children's journals are in a difficult position in our country. There are more than 70 of them. However, as a senior instructor at Ural University M. Popova emphasized, almost all of them are as alike as peas in a pod, or rather they are featureless. Journals for children have

become a kind of monopoly of particular authors, the speakers noted. A narrow circle of persons essentially serves 33 million readers of different ages and different regions, correspondingly imposing a narrow range of themes and genres on children's journals.

R. Yampolskaya, docent of the MGU journalism department, talked about the problems facing women's journals and about their new role.

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### **Journalists on Efforts to Propagate Glasnost in Regional Press**

18300378 Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 5, May 88 pp 2-6

[Article by Igor Orlov, deputy editor, ZA KOMMUNIZM, and Valeriy Shemyakin, responsible secretary, ZA KOMMUNIZM, in Tolyatti, Kuybyshev Oblast: "For a Dialogue on Equal Levels"]

[Text] At one of our daily "jam sessions" the newspaper editor Yu. Filatov voiced dissatisfaction with the secretariat:

"Once again, all four pages are filled with problems and continual criticism. Where is the positive? Where is the progressive experience?"

"It is not being written, Yuriy Vasilyevich. There is nothing positive in the secretarial files..."

"You are steering badly. We must orient the departments. Let them find something. Suddenly, out of the blue: every issue—criticism, criticism..."

All right, so we must "steer." However, after a lengthy explanation to the industry department, V. Makarova, on the verge of tears, angrily defended herself:

"Where will I find anything positive? After all, you must realize what is going on today in the chemical enterprises... Restructuring is exposing a mass of absurdities. Cost-accounting is moving on with a terrible screeching."

The correlation between the critical and the favorable, the balance between negative and positive—this art has been taught for a long time. Yet, it is not easy to adhere to it today.

Today, with much effort, we are finding experience, trying to show the positive more broadly, and discovering, albeit rarely at the present time, our own "supervisors" of restructuring. However, our "supervisors" are often tedious and intangible. There is no passion in their struggles. There is no firm determination in their work.



Let us be honest with ourselves: we are not always able to convey the real truth about the present struggle, intact, to the newspaper pages. Many of us see positive as meaning without conflict. Yet, is it possible to assert the experience which is arising, without showing the full picture of opposition? Is it possible today to put new things into practice without labor, easily?

It is difficult to rid ourselves of years-old habits.

A year and a half ago our newspaper undertook an experiment and announced it in large headlines: "Without Reminders!" Henceforth, as we explained to city officials and enterprise and construction leaders, we will not remind you of critical articles and will not send you clippings! Have a conscience—read the paper and respond to criticism on time!

The experiment went poorly. Nobody wanted to answer us unless we reminded them...

It is good that our vigilant reader, if he catches them, does not let them off the hook with half-measures and letters written for form's sake.

An article by one of our part-time contributors, "In the Censor's Role," exposed, facts in hand, the involvement of communist S. Ryazantsev, chief of the city's taxi pool, in serious business and moral transgressions. At first, the party raykom tried to halt all of this: "it has been pointed out to Comrade Ryazantsev....," etc. We printed a response, expressing our dissatisfaction with the "measures taken." The editors received letters whose authors categorically protested the raykom's "fatherly" kindness. Excerpts from these letters, published in the paper, had an effect. The raykom was forced to release S. Ryazantsev from a burden beyond his capabilities.

Of course, it would be shameful to attribute this effectiveness to the editorial aktiv alone. Above all, credit is due to the readers, to those who read the newspaper every day and help it as best they can, sometimes not even knowing this themselves.

Here, however, is a different kind of example. Just before the elections to the local soviets, the newspaper printed an open letter to A. Dubtsov, gorispolkom chairman, by a group of teachers at a polytechnical institute who were concerned about the ecological situation in the city. What happened? The city "mayor" did not respond, not even out of courtesy.

Indeed, the majority of those being criticized did not want to answer us unless reminded. It became necessary to put an end to this risky business. At one of our regular party meetings, it was suggested that we end the "experiment," but... as before, send neither clippings nor reminders. We decided to act through another means.

The rubric "Returning to What was Printed" had begun appearing in the press ever more frequently. It was made strictly mandatory for each department.

Without invitations, we started going to party committee meetings and reminding them about one or another article. For truth's sake, we shall be precise: for the time being, such visits to the party committees, or more precisely, the conversations there, are of little benefit. Sometimes they skillfully divert the discussion into particulars, into details which are beside the point, into obvious or sham inaccuracies.

This is how it happens. Instead of sending the editors an answer, the gorkom is sent a "denial"! Once an official document has been received, one must investigate... Who among the creative workers alone has not attended these investigations, lengthy and pointless, at times even humiliating! These investigations are of no benefit whatsoever to either side. They only compel us to be wary the next time: it is better not to nose around at this address—they might "rock the boat"...

It is time to ask a seditious question: does the newspaper really need responses? Or, in any event, responses to every critical article or problem-related correspondence? Especially now, when the manager himself does not know how he will work tomorrow, what kind of arrangements will be drawn up for him, when a problem, if it is serious, involves not just a single enterprise, but its roots extend to the oblast or ministry level?

In fact, where did the stereotype come from that once a newspaper has spoken out, someone is obligated to respond? Is this impossible on equal grounds? Is it impossible to avoid relations at the answer and denial level? To try to move to a level of equal dialogue? After all, sometimes our passions concerning effectiveness have a fundamentally bureaucratic basis.

One reader, affected by criticism in an article, sent an angry letter to one of its authors, who has the regular "Reader Correspondence" column (we are quoting the newspaper publication of the letter):

*"ZA KOMMUNIZM says nothing about the embezzlements occurring at the 'Vtorskoye' Enterprise," writes S. Batekhina. "Instead, it publicly slanders me, knowing that I cannot offer a rebuff, that I have no power. It hits a man when he is down. Everyone knows about the city administrative system—the mutual guarantees, protection, etc. As for truth, I quote the Russian saying: 'Everyone's cow moored, while your cow was silent.' All you do is boast and if you have to criticize something, for the records, you choose somebody like me as a victim..."*

Inasmuch as it was possible, the erroneousness of this reader's viewpoint was explained to her. Moreover, it was stated: "Indeed, some readers have the impression that the editors must keep some sort of accounts on the presence of criticism in the newspaper..."

Was the column's author being sly? After all, how we love to show off one or another statistic at times, writing "reports" about the effectiveness of newspaper articles! We tidily display our critical articles and their responses in all manner of exhibition albums, laughing: after all, no one will read them anyway, but what a quantity there is!...

Typically, the more interesting the newspaper is to readers, the more demanding the mail, the angrier the responses and the more abusive letters and readers' "denials" we receive. This spring at an editorial party conference in which gorkom representatives participated, I remember hearing the "good" advice: "No need to write about this—they will overload you with letters."

We do not always manage to follow this advice. Sometimes letters do overload us. True, they are far from always printed. Here is yet another stereotype: "How can we print this abuse—we will 'make a fool' of the newspaper!"

Somehow an article appeared in the newspaper, criticizing the system for planting winter greenery, which the VAZ Building Directorate for Greenery Planting had begun practicing for the first time in the country. The editors soon received a letter from a group of gardeners on this subject. In my opinion, they simply, but convincingly proved that planting winter greenery is a noteworthy innovation. What could we do? We published the gardeners' letter without any commentary. This was, after all, a different viewpoint. Incidentally, the letter's authors did agree with some things in the first newspaper article.

Thus, it is a question precisely of this, of another viewpoint. Should we fear it? Must we provide commentaries every time, as though guarding the regimental honor, fearing that suddenly the reader will get the wrong idea, or start liking the newspaper less?

However, let us return to progressive experience and the positive. Although we so desperately strive for an response to critical articles, why is this not done when positive material is published? In our view, this is even more important. Experience, if it is genuine and not fabricated, should mandatorily be retraced: both its conception and its development. How does a "little seed" grow into the experience that everyone needs?

Certainly, the most valuable experience is that which is obtained through labor, torment and struggle. Yet we are all looking for a "warm and comfortable" place where everyone is "for," where no one looks askance at anyone and where the inventor's proposal immediately meets with applause. The force of inertia is great. We seek and we do not find. However, for some reason we write about precisely this "experience."

Let us recall, against our will, our editorial past—a mere three 5-year periods of antiquity.

Stricter restrictions on criticism, the regulation of active newspaper work via numerous plans and measures, and endless minor instructions "from above" and even "from the side" had an oppressive effect on our general professional condition. It is disturbing that, as a result, we are distancing ourselves more from the reader, and that the very worst of possible fates threatens the newspaper: the journalist writes a bit—the reader reads a bit.

Although letters to the editors have not decreased in volume, the nature of the letters themselves have all the more become painfully similar—complaints about every possible personal, everyday problem and requests to help solve them. Yet, if something unordinary, something quite different, arrives now and then in an ordinary envelope—we ourselves do not know just what to do with such a letter: we go from office to office, read it to each other, and rejoice, but we do not put in the paper—it is not printed.

A hidden protest ripened, an annoyance with ourselves built up: we should not live this way, we should not do that. We began to speak aloud about this among ourselves, and then at short meetings and party conferences. We began to convey our "seditious" thoughts to people. Even then, it had become obvious that it was time to break the ossified practice of newspaper work, to reject the pedantic, mentor's tone. We should respect the reader not in words, but in action, and cease treating him like a faceless object of upbringing who eternally fails to fully understand things and therefore requires constant elucidation of the written truth. The time has come not simply to proclaim the newspaper the tribune of the working masses, but to try to make it this in fact. We must go from the "overbearing" monologue to an equal, respectful dialogue with the readers.

Our newspaper managed to start a "Dialogue" page, the idea for which was borrowed from KUZNETSKIY RABOCHIY, only this year, after 5 years of doubts, examples, debates, persuasion of skeptics and consolidation of like-minded thinkers, several years after the newspaper had converted to a large format. Even now, some people look askance at it, although the reader has accepted it and this fact has already noticeably affected contents of the editorial mail.

"Dialogue" is not simply a page designed for readers' letters. For us this is—may our publishers forgive this seditious statement—an opportunity "to forget" that we are an official organ: on this page the opinions of both the reader and the journalist reflect their personal, sustained expectations, doubts, desires...

As far as the expediency of publishing "incorrect" and "debatable" opinions is concerned, this argument is also raised: it is nothing more than speculation on "urgent" topics. The newspaper was even reproached at a CPSU gorkom plenum for pursuing "sensationalism."

The plenum's criticism is serious. We began to analyze the so-called urgent articles. As a rule, they are directly or closely related precisely to readers' letters or are the citizens' direct, minimally edited appeals to the newspaper.

People are leaving the accepted newspaper standard and beginning to write about everything that worries them, in plain language. An unusual urgency is also appearing. So that it will be obvious what we are referring to, we will quote some lines from published letters:

*Just trace the fate of a person, who had openly criticized the administration. He will hardly be successful... (Ye. Reshetnyak)*

*This year we expected a great deal from the pre-election campaign, but nothing has changed for us. As before, the majority of people do not know how their local soviets can help them. (L. Sukhova)*

*Have you seen 30-year old men, crying, who look 50-years old, with mouths barren of teeth, who have served for 10 years and do not know why? One is here because he said a word that somebody did not like, and another—because of slander. In remembering this period, our society will cough for a long time to come, and the consequences of these times will affect us for a long time as well.*

*I am an atheist. However, I feel compelled to exclaim: "Oh Lord! Give us a newspaper! A good newspaper. In which it will be possible to impartially discuss any matter. Which will truly be our newspaper, the people's!" (V. Kashirin, labor veteran)*

*Go ahead and agitate: I will not go to the subbotnik!... I will not go, not because I do not want to, but because the managers do not want to, since they do not work accordingly. Every person ought to know what he must do. (Nikitin, vertical lathe operator)*

*And what are the plant managers hoping for? What machine of the future do they intend to create on obsolete equipment? They are planning to convert VAZ to cost-accounting. What for? Who will be better off because of this? The worker? I do not believe... (Lyuda K.)*

These letters have one thing in common: the writer is openly expressing his opinion.

Emotions are raging right here in our own collective on the subject of what to do with letters which express partial or complete disagreement with the individual newspaper articles. We are in favor of printing them, others propose simply considering these opinions or giving them in summary with an editorial commentary, a third defend the regimental honor through thick and thin, particularly if the article was written by an editorial worker.

Such discussions have flared up around the articles "Where are the Sea Gulls Flying?" and "Sources of Results." In both the first and second case, the newspaper's attempts to reveal flaws in the activities of informal youth groups and to accuse them of ideological harmfulness drew protests from both the young people and their leaders. The publication of their letters, with explanations of their positions and demands for a qualified analysis and for the complete truth, evoked a sharp objection on the part of the authors of the original newspaper articles—it seemed to them that only editorial staff worker has the monopolistic right to put the final period on a discussion. However, sometimes it is better to get by without final periods.

As before, many of our readers readily write to the central publications, even regarding problems that are really not very hard to solve locally. Here, it seems, the force of inertia and a disbelief in the strength of the local press is having an effect.

For instance, we received a letter whose author, A. Kozyrev, reports: he intends in a most detailed manner to inform the Central Television political reviewer, L. Voznesenskiy, on how problems in the glazing of loggias and the allocation and development of suburban garden plots, etc. are being solved in the city. Really, is it necessary to go to Moscow, to Central Television, with our loggias? Is the reader really unable to discuss all of this with his own deputy? After all, in these same loggias in various instances dozens of decisions are made and projects are set up, but people always write...

This brings up another fundamental question: should a discussion be continued if the local authorities have already made a decision on it?

For a good 10 years, the city has been debating (mainly by word of mouth, but some information also appeared in the newspaper) what kind of a theater to have and where it should be located. The city now numbers 650,000 people and yet, as before, we are still only dreaming of a theater.

Then the inevitable occurred, and we published detailed material about the theater project. Letters started coming. Different. Argumentative. Contradictory. Rejecting the idea of the project itself. Proposing their own variants... "What should we do?"—the letters department worried.

"Why, just ready them for printing."

"But what for? After all, the design has already been approved."

Something similar happened with the city cemetery as well. One day somebody decided to put a new cemetery in a very homely site, among sand dunes and gullies.

Somehow, we editorial workers managed to participate in the burials. The impressions were very oppressive. An article came out in the paper. And a whirlwind of letters flew out...

We prepared one selection. Then another... One of the "city fathers" expressed displeasure. Finally, the gorkom passed a special resolution on account of the newspaper articles about the cemetery. A decision has been made. Yet letters are still coming. What can we do? Continue the discussion?

Yet another resolution was passed. Finally, the situation began to change—they started to establish a new cemetery. However, when recalling this story, consider: what could a newspaper do without reader support? Nothing.

Let us ask a slightly sharper question now. What if the reader does not agree with some official decision or other?

Twice, on account of readers' letters, articles were published about the condition of the visual propaganda in the city. The second, written by V. Makarenko, supported by the opinions of specialists, artists, and references to central publications, evoked a negative reaction from the party gorkom. One of the staff workers considered this article an attack against the city's party organization.

Yes, a journalist writes better, the less he thinks about what the higher-ups will say. However, even a relatively neutral rejoinder, such as: "the gorkom has a different opinion on this matter"—is enough to deprive the writer of certainty.

Most of all, today the boldest among us are afraid. They fear a return to the past. Did few frank, restless and honest people abandon the editorial office during the years of stagnation because of their "uncontrollability," because they did not know how to lie or to not tell everything?

We are not claiming that dishonest and unprincipled people have remained in the editorial offices. You cannot liken life to simple arithmetic actions. However, time has had its effect: over the decades we have mastered the art of not telling everything to precision. Now our internal censors say "no-no" and hinder our own pens: do not write it, it will not get through... All of this has been discussed before. However, practice forces us to remember the not so distant past over and over again.

It has become popular today to remind journalists about independent thinking, about knowing how to look at things with a fresh view. Ever more often we are being reminded about this by our party leaders.

Recently, S. Turkin, party gorkom first secretary, responding to a request that he look through an article before publication, spoke out to the effect that it was

about time to reject such "agreement" practices. However, he did keep the article... What are the authors inclined toward? Our scant experience in communicating with party leaders leads us to believe that it is not just press workers and journalists, but party leaders as well, who can in no way free themselves from the clutch of self-censorship and self-restriction. Evidently, a fear that their actions will be misinterpreted by a higher chief is operating here.

But what are we? After all, we are the "mirror of the party committee."

How can we involve the "city fathers" in a dialogue? Many of them do not want to mingle with the masses, except from the rostrums of plenums, sessions, meetings and organized political events. Other leaders follow their example.

One day an angry chief called the editorial office and began reproaching us for a "erroneous" article. We answered him:

"Why do you not write about this? We will try to publish it."

"What is this... I never slandered..."

One hardly needs to reproach a director, chief engineer or economist for not wanting to cooperate with the newspaper, the more so given the lack of basic literary customs. This is explainable (although hardly normal). However, yesterday's economic manager has now become raykom secretary. Can his attitude toward the printed word be radically changed? Can a need and ability to use the newspaper in his work suddenly appear?

If such a need does appear, it does so only under outside influence. (The Komsomol gorkom even set up a schedule for us, indicating when and which of the activists would appear in the city paper, but the manner went no further than inquiries).

The practice of ghost writing in relation to extraction of unearned income has still not been overcome. And co-authorship? After all, it can be structured as an interview, dialogue, talk, discussion, survey... Today, perhaps, we will be able to arrange contacts with leaders in precisely this way.

Last spring we undertook giving a series of "unpolished" interviews in the newspaper. Yu. Arkhipov, VAZ Party Committee secretary, made the contact willingly. He edited his interview, which was frank and direct. In it the secretary expressed his fears, natural considering his position, with regard to the mass euphoria about the electivity of one and all. A certain "awkwardness" of style and professionalism and even some formalism left

here and there had given the material naturalness. And why not? Many editorial workers think that in this way we even "belittle" the authority of the newspaper and of the reader himself.

Incidentally, an interview with Yu. Arkhipov was published in one of the central newspapers almost simultaneously. It had been done strongly, professionally, the style was irreproachable, the thinking was sharp. A diva should sing as easily, as our leaders, yesterday's economic managers, sometimes manage so gracefully to express themselves. One reads such high-quality work and again the worm of doubt begins to gnaw within: maybe how the leader speaks and what he thinks is not so important, as long as everything is well-formed. After all, one does not explain to the reader what came from the individual being interviewed, and what came from the journalist.

The party is decisively sweeping away obstacles to the open discussion of any problems. Act! Why should we not? Are we going to remain a "province?" Where is socialist pluralism in the local newspapers? Are they ready to become the tribune of the people's opinion? Do people want to write to our editorial office about the things that bother them? In our opinion, the essence of restructuring journalistic work lies in the answers (act!) to these questions.

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### **Journalist Reviews Moldavian Press Treatment of Ecological Issues**

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[Article by Aleksandr Brodskiy, member of the governing board of the Moldavian Writers' Union, under the rubric "Learning Democracy": "'Controlled Glasnost' or How the Moldavian Press Covers the Republic's Ecological Problems"]

[Text] It is more complicated on the periphery of restructuring, just because it is the periphery. Our republic, alas, is no exception. Here, it seems, the local press should have its say—for it is precisely the local press which clothes general ideas in the attire of particularities and molds their visible features. Of course, it happens, but by no means always. But even when "it happens," the sobering voice "from above" is immediately heard. As, for example, in the article by the head of the propaganda and agitation department of the Moldavian CP Central Committee S. Roshka "To Proceed from Life in Everything" (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 1 October 1987).

One of the author's fundamental positions in it is formulated in this way: "In conditions of democratization of social life we need constructive glasnost. Our journalists, unfortunately, sometimes forget that."

Ach, that saving "sometimes"! How convenient to hide behind it so that people do not accuse you of speaking without foundation and of generalizing! For just a little of this "sometimes" can be found in any "always." And everything seems to turn out to be true. But let us not deceive even ourselves. For some time (or rather since the time when the Moldavian Writers' Union almost completely renovated its leadership at the meeting of 18-19 May 1987, which lasted almost 24 hours) it has become almost fashionable in Kishinev to speak of how ill-bred writers and journalists are and to threaten them for their inability to carry on polemics. These conversations, with references to the highest authorities, have continued in our newspapers even now. There is no denying that excesses really do occur both in spoken and even written statements. But it would be a good idea to consider that the people on both sides who are talking have become unaccustomed to argument. And really, is it permissible to shut the mouth of a person crying out in pain on the pretext that he is violating the rules of good form?

Our best writers and journalists uphold the point of view clearly defined in the editorial of the journal KOMMUNIST (No 15, 1987) as follows: "The forces of 'retardation' of all stripes readily cover themselves with talk about 'standard of debate' and about democracy for the sole purpose of avoiding a direct and open social description of their position by their ideological opponents. Polemic is necessary and we must learn patience, but everything that is foreign to the spirit of revolutionary restructuring and the fundamental interests of the Soviet people should be called by its proper name. Principles remain principles, and we must not retreat from them under any specious pretext."

And so I would like to show exactly what "constructive" (read "controlled") glasnost which "our journalists sometimes forget" really means here. Incidentally, the word enclosed in parentheses is by no means the author's whim. It was heard on 16 July 1987 from the podium of the plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee: "Like any process or phenomenon of social life, glasnost in the press must be controlled." Period!

Moldavian readers still remember the articles published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 29 July 1987 by Ion Drutse, chairman of the Moldavian Writers' Union, entitled "Green Leaves, Water, and Punctuation Marks," and by Kapitolina Kozhevnikova, special correspondent of the newspaper, entitled "The Cry of the Earth." The essential point of these articles is simple: an ecological disaster threatens the republic, which until

very recently was called a garden spot of the country. The writer and the journalist analyze the concrete causes of this threat and ponder how to avert the impending disaster.

Almost 3 months later, on 21 October 1987, the same newspaper published materials signed by Moldavian scientists, including the president of the MSSR Academy of Sciences A. Zhuchenko, which express firm disagreement with the opinions of Drutse and Kozhevnikova. In the introduction to this collection the editors observe that they have received "many responses, mainly from Moldavia. Readers support the newspaper's position, report additional facts, and offer their thoughts." As can be understood from that same editorial introduction, there were only three opposing responses. And they were what made up the second publication (of course, in view of the size of the articles the editors had to shorten them somewhat). Both sides appeared to make fairly complete statements, and there is no need to emphasize the interest that this convincing example of glasnost met here in the republic. There is also probably no need to say on which side the sympathies of the Moldavian writers lay.

But then there was a new exchange of "fire" in the polemic. On the one hand, A. Zhuchenko, not satisfied with the abbreviated version of his article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, published it in full in three (!) republic newspapers: in SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA on 27 October, in MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE on 28 October, and in LITERATURA SHI ARTA on 29 October. An impressive volley, we must say, and covering a broad area! Following the president, on 1 November G. Marin and Ye. Renitsa, general directors of the Kodru and Progress scientific production associations, published the full text of their statement in SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA. Let us note that the third author, Doctor of Agricultural Sciences V. Babuk, removed his signature in the local press. Why would he do that?

During these same days, on 28 October, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA responded to the statements of the defenders of the "honor of the uniform" with several more items that convincingly supported the viewpoint of Drutse and Kozhevnikova. But this material was not reprinted in the republic press.

Was this perhaps an accident? Simply an inability to live under the new social conditions? If so... Let us remember. A long-range environmental protection program is being adopted at the session of the republic Supreme Soviet, with the condition that it must be supplemented. As E. Kondratev, IZVESTIYA correspondent for Moldavia, bitingly observed, "The fact that it was submitted for discussion by the session at the height of the debates about it and the gravity of the critical remarks made by participants in the session indicate that necessary amendments will be made to the program for a long time yet." One wonders: why this haste, this desire to ratify the draft at any price, even in incomplete form? The

republic Academy of Sciences has blessed the program three times, thus justifying the expenditure of a fairly hefty amount of money in preparing it.

However, back in February 1987 the newspaper VECHERNIY KISHINEV conducted a roundtable discussion at which Doctor of Biological Sciences I. Dedyu warned: "In the form in which it exists at the present time, the program cannot be submitted for official ratification. Another six months, another year, must be requested for major additional work on this document. To insure that future generations of inhabitants of our region and all Soviet people will not censure us for haste." They preferred not to listen to the literally heartfelt "Letters on Love for Moldavia" by the journalist Boris Vieru, published on 16 July of last year in the weekly LITERATURA SHI ARTA. The focus of these letters is the fate of Uncle Vacile and Aunt Ilyana, ordinary peasants who by virtue of their carefree ignorance and ardent material concern and urged on by the managers of the farms poison the earth with pesticides, herbicides, and toxic chemicals in unimaginable doses, ruin their health and their children's health on tobacco plantations, drink bad water, eat unfit vegetables and bread, and so on. According to the author's estimates, about 250,000 people work "in tobacco" in Moldavia. "Isn't that a little too much for a republic with a population of 4 million?" he asks.

I heard a response from one of the workers at the agriculture department of the Moldavian CP Central Committee. He told me that in response to some reduction in the area of tobacco plantations a multitude of letters from rayons would follow complaining that people are being deprived of large sums of earnings. What the official related to me is in no way in line with the alarm of our writers or with the position of the ecological section of our Journalists' Union, but on the other hand does not contradict A. Zhuchenko's line. The scientist did not fail to make sharp attacks on "certain publications and statements which have appeared recently in which the pretext for, as an example, criticizing the plan for a long-range ecological program, not only represent an antiscientific, vulgar understanding of the use of the natural environment propagandized in a biased way (like—down with use of chemicals, land improvement, and so on), but economics and ecology are pitted against each other from the positions of ultralocal patriotism..." (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 18 July 1987).

Ultimately one can understand everything and forgive much. Polemic is a high and subtle art but anyone at all can master it. But what is indisputable in all conditions is not to tell lies. It is no longer a question of the ability to argue, but a question of conscience. But that is what the chairman of Moldavian Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] S. Lozan allows himself to do. Speaking at the Sixth Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, he announced (cited from a report in the newspaper VECHERNIY KISHINEV on 18 July 1987): "In early July a meeting took

place between Gosteleradio workers and members of the governing board of the Moldavian Writers' Union. It did not turn out to be a business-like meeting. The writers demanded that control over the ideological content of programs be removed, dual language broadcasting be eliminated, and television broadcasting be completely translated into the Moldavian language. This demand, essentially an ultimatum, was proposed by the secretary of the governing board of the Writers' Union Matkovskiy, who was chairing the meeting. The writers Strymbanu, Burgiu, and others made the demand to abandon dual languages and to translate television into the Moldavian language."

So, as you understand, the approach was a different one: nature is well and good, but shouldn't we test these fellows against the measure of nationalism? But in fact there is a tape recording of that meeting and the business-like talk which, according to Lozan, "did not turn out." And there is not a word on this tape about what our "minister of information" hastened to accuse the obstinate writers of.

As a result, the false quotations cited above appeared on the pages of a respected academic journal (ISTORIYA SSSR, No 6, 1987), thereby acquiring the flesh of "historical" fact verified and confirmed by the authority of the press.

An interesting thing happened to Yelena Tsorina, department chief of the Moldavian Telegraph Agency (ATEM). She was assigned to write a report from the discussion in the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences on the very same ecology program. She performed the assignment in a precise and principled way. In the material "Who Will Save Our Home?" Ye. Tsorina cited excerpts from the speeches of some scientists who pointed out the shortcomings of the project and in addition quoted A. Zhuchenko, who branded writers and journalists who did not agree with the program as "incompetent and muddle-headed."

Ye. Tsorina's report was not accepted at ATEM, but when she published her report in the newspaper LITERATURA SHI ARTA (30 July 1987) the intervention of the Moldavian CP Central Committee was needed to protect her from an immediate demotion.

One of the active environmental protectionists in our republic is the journalist and poet Valeriy Kosarev. His latest speech was discussed at an open party meeting of the editorial office of the journal KOMMUNIST MOLDAVIL. This is how SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA of 5 August 1987 tortuously reported on it: "V. Kosarev did not conduct himself correctly in every way during his speech at the meeting with the scientists of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences." And this is what follows: "V. Kosarev acknowledged that the criticism against him was fair. I very much regret what happened, he said in conclusion." But in fact, V. Kosarev did not

acknowledge that the criticism against him was fair and did not express regret, which he himself and the minutes of the meeting confirm. So is it deception again? Yes.

We could continue with examples, but V. Kachurin, at that time SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondent for Moldavia, described the situation best. "The local attitude toward critical materials alarms me," he said at the meeting between Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the editorial collective. "People are frequently late in responding to them. They deliberately 'close' their eyes to the problem, begin to look for inaccuracies, and work on formal replies to the editorial office. As a result, the press 'spins it wheels' and has to return to the materials and demand a concrete response. Some people do not at all wish to see a little newspaper as a reliable helper to the party in restructuring. And so the journalist frequently falls into disfavor with the leaders, arousing opposition in them, a kind of incomprehensible and at times deep resistance, not even based on facts but on attitude. Everything is put into action—from the 'opinion of the collective,' skillfully orchestrated at meetings to discuss articles, to anonymous letters to their authors in the highest offices" (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 7 July 1987).

Even in the polemic with I. Drutse the president of the republic academy resorts to those same devices and proven terminology in revealing in his article "groundless conclusions, distortion of facts, and undisguised tendentiousness" and even daring to use such a expression of conservative obscurantism which was ridiculed long ago by Saltykov-Shchedrin as "false interpretations." The old device is: if someone dared to criticize the "untouchable" leadership, he was immediately accused of "groundlessly" censuring the entire republic and even the country, the whole working class, and all the peasantry. The critic found himself almost in the role of enemy of the people and that entailed the appropriate "organizational conclusions."

The present attacks on Drutse by that same A. Zhuchenko certainly bring to mind the 1970's, when that writer, a favorite of the people, was out of favor with the republic's leadership. And is the story of the persecution of V. Zyukov, a young scientist in that very Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences of which A. Zhuchenko is president, not of the same rank? And KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA wrote about that not 10 or even 5 years ago, but just on 28 October of last year (the article "After Certification"). But Zyukov was persecuted for the same thing—for honesty, a principled attitude, and for criticism, including scientific criticism.

I foresee a question: is there not too much about Zhuchenko? Are we not reducing the problem to a struggle against one person? I will answer: there is not too much, and we are not reducing it to that. I will try to explain. The point is that A. Zhuchenko to a significant extent embodies the negative processes which are impeding

restructuring today. Hanging labels on the opponent, demagoguery, and distorting the truth for the sake of proving one's own rightness, that is, everything that is incompatible with the process of democratization. Moreover, A. Zhuchenko occupies a high post, that is, he has real power. Consequently, his point of view, position, and behavior can have serious consequences for the fate of the republic. Therefore—I repeat—it is not too much.

Today the Moldavian land is rapidly growing barren, but A. Zhuchenko, a specialist in ecological genetics, asserts that agriculture without toxic chemicals is altogether impossible in our time. Yes, unfortunately, he is right for now, but while we say that with regret, he is an ardent defender of "chemistry." A. Zhuchenko writes, "In the United States, for example, it would take 177 million hectares of additional plowland in order to achieve the present volume of production of crop farming products without using technology, fertilizers, and pesticides." The device used here is called mixing concepts: everything—chemicals, mechanization, and fertilizers—is dumped into a pile, and just try to sort out what and what amount you can really do without. It was using these particular strained interpretations that he "argued" with Drutse and Kozhevnikova on the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

So, as soon as the first violin sets the tone, the rest follow. Candidates of biological sciences I. Untila and M. Vronskikh in turn warn the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "... if the dream of the 'antichemical people' is realized, Moldavia will be short 450,000 to 500,000 tons of winter wheat and 800,000 to 850,000 tons of fodder grain, and as for grapes, fruit, and some vegetable crops, their yield in certain years may prove to be nil."

Impressive figures, is that not so? But they look even more impressive if we view them from another standpoint: we are speaking of the grain and vegetables poisoned by chemicals and poisonous grapes and fruits, that is, the direct threat to the well-being and health of the people.

But still every now and then other opinions break through the choir of champions of the "chemical assault." While A. Zhuchenko "beats up" Drutse on the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which has a circulation of 1 million, trying to convince people that it is altogether impossible without "chemistry," the Moldavian newspaper PROGRAMMY TELEVIDENIYA I RADIOVESHCHANIYA (its circulation is somewhat more modest—35,000) informs people of the forthcoming radio bridge between Kishinev and Poltava: "We are speaking of the Kolkhoz imeni Ordzhonikidze from the Poltava region, which has grown row crops without herbicides for some years and, moreover, has gotten a higher yield of corn, sunflowers, and sugar beets than neighboring farms where herbicides are actively used" (27 November 1987). That is a most fundamental fact! But—it is hushed up, suppressed, and covered up.

Excessive use of toxic chemicals hardly results in yields greater than the agricultural output we lose every year which lies unharvested in the fields, vineyards, vegetable plantations, and gardens. Continuing to use methods of extensive farming as in the old way, we expand "to the limit" the area under the plow and perennial plantings, seizing more and more area from nature to do so, reducing forests, and destroying even the "Stalinist" windbreak forest strips created after the war. Year after year we use more and more inorganic fertilizers in order to increase the size of the harvest and more and more pesticides in order to protect it from pests and weeds. We sacrifice nature's health and our own by investing enormous amounts of capital and even more labor in this murder. But when the longed-for harvest is finally grown, we leave it in the field and we lose it during transport, in warehouses and bases, and in the trade network, which is sluggish and underdeveloped.

Juggling with facts, substituting concepts, and arguments which are not to the point—those are the ways some representatives of our science conduct an argument. The talk of the town is the "Pamyat Ilyichu" garden in Slobodzeykiy Rayon. Kozhevnikova and Drutse talk about the harmful gigantomania and the ridiculously enormous area of the garden, the middle of which bee-pollinators simply do not get to, while the apples which have fallen unto the ground there stay there for years, for literally every living thing—insects, and mushrooms, and bacteria—has been killed in that dead soil. Zhuchenko says about the garden: "even mistakes in procedure are better than the old systems of gardens" and then: "if for no other reason than because gatherers there are not like their ancestors, who climbed through the trees." But is that really the point?!

Vice president of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences S. Toma: "With the population's high fertility rate, the dryness of the climate, the broken terrain, and the development of erosion of the soils, the republic's forests have a great deal of social and protective significance. However, the territory's average amount of wooded area (8.9 percent) is considered very low and moreover is extremely irregular in certain rayons" (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 14 July 1987). A. Zhuchenko and his supporters: "Wooded areas in Moldavia increased by 127,000 hectares in the period 1961-1983 alone." There is no reason to doubt these data, but do they really disprove the previous premise?

The chemist M. Nikolskaya writes (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 28 October 1987): "For Moldavia the amount of toxic chemicals per hectare was usually measured at 21-22 kilograms. I. Untila and M. Vronskiy name a different figure—11-12 kilograms. Where does the decrease come from? The focal points of statistics are: they have begun to consider the amount not in terms of total mass, but in terms of actual substance. Do we need such consolation?"



Is it not strange? The Plenum of the Moldavian Writers' Union adopted this point, among others, in October of last year: "Ask the USSR Council of Ministers to introduce toxicological control of all foodstuffs grown in the republic." But not a word from Moldavian scientists about this problem. It seems as though it does not exist at all. Or it is not worth the attention.

But let us at least look at an article by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Yablokov published by PRAVDA in October under the eloquent title "The Game Against Pests." "World practice says," the scientist asserts, "that there are no pesticides which are nontoxic to humans." He emphasizes their ability to change heredity. "Many pesticides are proving to be cancer-causing. The extensive use of pesticides also proves catastrophic for living nature." The scientist's conclusion is obvious: "We must correct the 'chemical' tendency in plant protection, which is dangerous to nature and to man and, it seems, unpromising for the economy, as soon as possible."

But what about us in Moldavia? Do they not know, not see, and not attach any significance? Why, for example, is there not a word in the articles of our scientists about the fact that the chernozem here, which at one time was known throughout the world, is catastrophically losing humus and fertility along with it? Because the reasons for the misfortune are more than obvious: excessive use of chemicals, uncontrolled irrigation, reduction of forests, pollution of rivers, and many other improvident actions. According to data of a decade ago, landslides and soil erosion alone have annually resulted in the loss of thousands of hectares of Moldavian arable land. This figure has hardly declined today. At least, as S. Toma reports on another occasion, "every year from 0.65 to several tons of humus is washed away from each hectare, and this shortage on the average has already reached 1.7-1.9 tons per hectare. The productivity of the eroded land is only one-half, one-third, or less of its former level." But saying that within the framework of a polemic means acknowledging one's own shortcomings in work. So is it not better and is it not safer to continue to "keep up appearances," maneuvering between the obvious and the improbable? We in Moldavia will never understand why in his scientific works this very Zhuchenko says one thing and in the debate with environmental protectionists says another.

Fairness requires us to say that such a position and such behavior demand quite a bit of resourcefulness. But this same fairness does not allow us to be silent about the other thing—the, one might say, official support which A. Zhuchenko and his followers feel. Here is an example.

At the session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet held in November, M. Platon, the deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, gave a report on the results of completion of the Long-Range Comprehensive Program. The report made a contradictory impression. On the one hand, it asserts that after taking into account

"about 200 proposals and observations... the program reflects such questions as ruling out the use of pesticides when raising agricultural crops used to make children's and dietetic food" (as if these crops are raised in individual sections, and for the parents of these and future children poisons are harmless!), and, on the other, it says that "the use of chemicals and land improvement... hold great potential opportunities for the development of farming and the use of new technologies and hence the satisfaction of people's rational needs for foodstuffs." "Therefore," the conclusion is then drawn, a conclusion in which familiar intonations are heard, "we must not pit one against the other" (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA), 17 November 1987). Just like in the children's game of forfeits: whatever your heart desires.

These comments were for the most part written late last year. Since that time several meetings of writers with responsible and even very responsible workers of the republic have taken place which sharply raised the question that it is time to put an end to exhausting and, most importantly, useless polemics between writers and the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences and find the opportunity for real fruitful cooperation. Honestly speaking, after these meetings I got the desire to take this article back from the editors of ZHURNALIST: bad peace is better than good quarrels.

But... I must return to what I began with—the publications of the local press.

Not very long ago the 100th anniversary of the birth of the brilliant geneticist N.I. Vavilov was extensively celebrated in the country. There were probably no newspapers or journals which did not devote at least one article to him. But, I think, in its jubilee material only SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA ("The Feat of a Scientist," 25 November 1987) managed to name the relationship between Vavilov and Lysenko using polemic and not say a word about Vavilov's tragic fate and his terrible death from emaciation in a Saratov prison.

Or: the journal SELSKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO MOLDAVII (No 12, 1987) ran an article by the journalist S. Koydan entitled "Unnecessary Passions Concerning the Use of Chemicals." Directed against Ion Drutse and a "group of writers and journalists," it is more mindful of a military report and maintains a very aggressive tone. S. Koydan savagely turns against those who seem to "assume the right to monopolize criticism of the bad ecological condition of the republic" and those "who choose targets for destruction, pursuing goals which are very remote from the concerns of protecting nature and the health of the kray's inhabitants." Without carping on the stylistics of these turns of speech, I want merely to direct the reader's attention to the vigor of the accusatory intonations and the intimidating allusions. As S. Koydan has it, Drutse "fires on headquarters" while Zhuchenko is something like a six-winged seraphim.

And this would be fine, rearguard battles and a dying skirmish, so to speak. But the trouble is that the positive hero of S. Koydan's article shamelessly allows it to be reprinted in the large-circulation academic journal SHTIINTSA (14 January 1988): I should think so! SELSKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO MOLDAVIYA is not the most popular printed organ in the republic, but the entire academy had to know how bad Drutse "with his comrade" [ungrammatical in Russian] were and how wonderful his scientific opponent who ardently defended the standard of debate was. Is this "controlled glasnost?"

But even that is not all. The same issue of SHTIINTSA ran a communique on the first page about the meeting of the presidium of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences. I will quote only the last paragraph: "Understanding the importance of the questions raised in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, LITERATURA SHI ARTA

and VYATSA SATULUY, and the journal MOLDOVA concerning the tension of the ecological situation in the republic, consider the accusation of worsening the ecological situation directed against the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences and its president and some other scientists to be wrong and unsubstantiated and to have misinformed the public and discredited the activity of the academy's scientists."

All right. We will consider it so. That is, we will not consider but the associates of the academy will—on the basis of work discipline, academic discipline, subordination maybe.

But what will become of Uncle Vasile and Auntie Ilyana and their children? That is the question. "Controlled glasnost" will hardly supply the answer to it.

**Historian Reviews Effects of Repressions in  
Moldavia in 1937-38**

18300346 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in  
Russian 8 May 88 p 2

[N. Movilyanu, deputy director of the Institute of the History of the Party at the Central Committee of the Moldavian CP, in terms of scientific work—candidate of history: "The Truth About 'Enemies of the People' (On the Repressions of 1937-1938 in Moldavia)"; the first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA introduction]

[Text] The period of time of the 1930's has in the meantime been poorly mastered by historical science. A significant part of the documents of the epoch and the facts are known in vague and unverified legends, chance stories, individual memoirs and scrappy statements that have reached us. This is a heroic and dramatic period of our history. On the one hand, the pathos of the first five-year plans, the Stakhanovite movement, the installation of the Dnieper GES, the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, the Urals and Kuzbas Industrial Complex, and the socialist transformations in agriculture, and, on the other, the bringing "to the altar of progress" hundreds of thousands of human lives of the best sons and daughters of the Soviet people. If the problems of the creation of the foundations of socialism have occupied a worthy place in the historical literature, the political processes and repressions of the 1930's until recently have been a "forbidden" zone. One has only to be surprised that, in the conditions of renewal and glasnost, some researchers, in examining the period of the end of the 1920's and the 1930's, attempt to turn away from the painful questions of our history and to keep silent about them. "... With this we cannot agree," M. S. Gorbachev in the report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Is Continuing," devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, this would be disregard of the historical truth, a lack of respect for the memory of those who turned out to be the innocent victims of lawlessness and arbitrariness. We cannot do so also because a truthful analysis should help us to solve the problems we face today: Democratization, legality, glasnost, the overcoming of bureaucratism—in short, the urgent problems of restructuring. This is why here, too, we need complete lucidity, accuracy and consistency. The Moldavian people, as also other peoples of our country, has paid a dear price—in human lives and moral losses for the mistakes and deviations from Leninist principles of the building of socialism. The illumination of the manifestations of the cult of the personality of Stalin in local conditions is possible in the context of an analysis of this phenomenon for the country as a whole.

The absence of the requisite level of democratization of Soviet society during the first years of Soviet power and the formation of the bureaucratic apparatus made possible both the cult of the personality of Stalin, the violations of legality, arbitrariness and the repressions of the 1930's—utter crimes because of the misuse of power.

Stalin gradually diverged from the Leninist methods of collective leadership, placed himself above the party, its Central Committee and the Politburo, freed himself from their control and completely protected himself against criticism. The apparatus of the party leadership, Soviet power and economic management began to be staffed in accordance with the principle of personal devotion. Moreover, devotion to the cause of socialism was replaced by devotion personally to "the great leader [vozhd] of all times and peoples," as they began to call Stalin. The position of every member in the party, soviet, and economic hierarchy and his fate depended on the attitude to him of the higher authorities and, in the final analysis, on Stalin. Such a system created favorable conditions for unpunished arbitrary rule and the abuse of power in the center and scandalous lawlessness in the provinces. For the "persuasion" of the opponents of the regime of personal power, means of political and ideological pressure and repressions were selected. Stalin, writes doctor of philosophy D. A. Volkogonov, got quickly used to violence as the obligatory attribute of unlimited power.

The repressions and arbitrary rule reached the apogee in 1937-1938. A social tragedy unfolds: Society moves along the path of the construction of socialism and at the same time is pulled into a wholehistorical period in which the rupture between word and deed manifests itself, socialist ideology is interspersed with ideas that are alien to it—the mistaken theory, advanced by Stalin, of the supposedly existing objective laws governing the intensification of the class struggle in proportion to the progress toward socialism, which had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and was the theoretical basis of the lawlessness and mass repressions with respect to those who were disagreeable. The atmosphere of suspiciousness and fear that was created, an atmosphere in which arrest, exile and execution could suddenly overtake without apparent reasons, seized the entire country. A large number of citizens were subjected to punishment, including capital punishment, on the basis of the decision of non-constitutional, closed organs. Open trials of the most important figures of the party and the Soviet State are beginning in order to demonstrate publicly the guilt of defendants in the crimes allegedly committed by them, to present them as "gangs of murderers and spies." In August 1936—the trial in the case of the so-called Trotskyite-Zinovievite Center in which 16 people were involved. In 1937—in the case of G. L. Pyatakov, K. B. Radek, and others. The defendants were accused of anti-Soviet activity, wrecking, espionage, diversions, the preparation of terrorist acts, etc. In March 1938 the trial of the "Right Trotskyite Bloc" took place. 21 people were brought to trial (N. I. Bukharin, A. I. Rykov, N. N. Krestinskiy, Khr. G. Rakovskiy, and others). In the textbook "Istoriya VKP(b). Kratkiy kurs" (History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)) it is noted: "The trial proceedings revealed that the Trotskyite and Bukharinite monsters, carrying out the will of their masters—the foreign bourgeois intelligence services—set themselves

the goal of the destruction of the party and the Soviet state, the undermining of the defense of the country, the facilitation of foreign military intervention, the preparation of the defeat of the Red Army, the dismemberment of the USSR, the return of Soviet Primorye to the Japanese, the return of Soviet Belorussia to the Poles, the return of the Soviet Ukraine to the Germans, the destruction of the achievements of the workers and kolkhoz workers, and the restoration of capitalist slavery in the USSR. "It is characteristic that the organizers of the trials tried to link the names and criminal activity incriminating the defendants with Trotskyism and the name of Trotsky—the worst enemy of Leninism.

The situation of universal suspiciousness and fear, which was consciously spread by Stalin with the aid of the apparatus of force, like a cancerous tumor, progressed, paralyzing thousands upon thousands of innocent people.

The period of political accusations and repressions encompassed also the Moldavian ASSR. As a catalyst in the intensification of the struggle with "the enemies of the people" served the conclusion drawn by Stalin in his report at the February-March (1937) Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee: "Now, I believe, it is clear to all that the present wreckers and saboteurs, whatever flag they put on, the Trotskyite or Bukharinite, already long ago ceased to be a political current in the working movement, that they turned into an unscrupulous and unprincipled gang of professional wreckers, saboteurs, spies and murderers. It is clear that these gentlemen have to be destroyed and rooted out mercilessly, as enemies of the working class and as traitors of our Homeland. This is clear and does not require further explanations." The word had been spoken. It only remained to carry out the instruction of the leader. And "wrecking," espionage mania, the struggle with windmills, and "double-dealing" became shameful attributes of orthodoxy, of the blind faith in and devotion to the leader. This was also encouraged by obvious agitation. Posters were hanging in public places: The large strong hand of Yezhov squeezed a serpent with the signature: "Rule with a rod of iron!" Or posters with the appeal: "We will eradicate the enemies of the people, the Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies and agents of fascism."

Soon, on the entire territory of the republic, the NKVD "exposed" a far-flung network of "counterrevolutionary formations," which supposedly were conducting active work on the creation of terrorist groups for an uprising against Soviet power and the perpetration of terrorist acts against the leaders of the party and the Soviet state.

Following the Stalinist assertion that "the wrecking and sabotage-espionage work of the agents of foreign states. . . affected, in one degree or another, all or almost all of our organizations, economic as well as administrative and party organizations, 'enemies of the people' were searched for, exposed, and 'found.'"

Leading workers of the party, soviet, and economic organs of the Moldavian ASSR, the workers of the mass and propaganda media, and figures in the world of literature and art became the chief target of the Stalinist repressions. In May 1937, the following were discharged from their posts and a short time later arrested and illegally repressed: The chairman of the Moldavian ASSR Council of People's Commissars, G. I. Staryy, the chairman of the Moldavian ASSR Central Executive Committee, Ye. P. Voronovich, the secretary of the Moldavian Obkom of the Ukrainian KP(b), N. I. Golub, the people's commissar for agriculture of the republic, D. A. Moroz, the people's commissar of justice, D. G. Skulskiy, and later—the secretaries of the Moldavian Obkom, V. Z. Todres, Z. G. Siderskiy, and a number of other leader party and soviet workers. They were accused of especially dangerous state crimes: Treason of the Homeland, espionage, sabotage and wrecking activity. As the documents of that time indicate, "the despicable gang of Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois nationalist agents of the fascist intelligence services (the Siderskiys, Todreses, Golubs, Voronoviches, Staryys, and others) allegedly wormed their way into the leadership of the Ukrainian KP(b) Obkom, the Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars, and other sectors of economic, soviet, and national-cultural construction and attempted to separate Soviet Moldavia from the great Soviet Union and return it under the power of the Romanian capitalists and boyars. . . . The familiar formulations, reminiscent of the sentences of the three previously mentioned political trials, only there was. . . espionage for the benefit of the Japanese or German intelligence services, sabotage, terrorist and other hostile activity, and here, taking local conditions into account—"for the benefit of royal Romania."

Who were they, the "enemies of the people?" . . . . Grigoriy Ivanovich Staryy. You cannot tell about his life and fate briefly within the limits of our article. For this reason, we are looking into the short encyclopedia "SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA," where the basic landmarks of his activity are reflected: In the revolutionary movement since 1900. Participant in the first Russian revolution. Member of the Communist Party since 1918. During the years of the occupation of the territory by bourgeois-landlord Romania, chairman of the Bendery underground district party committee, one of the organizers of the Bendery uprising, authorized by the Ukrainian KP(b) Central Committee for party work in Bessarabia. Sentenced to death in absentia by the Romanian authorities. Chairman of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Moldavia (1924-1925), chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Moldavian ASSR (1925-1926), chairman of the Moldavian ASSR Council of People's Commissars (1925-1926 and 1932-1937). This is the end of information about him. On 22 June 1937, G. I. Staryy was arrested by the Ukrainian SSR NKVD "on suspicion of belonging to an agency of the intelligence service of bourgeois Romania and the creation of a counterrevolutionary organization in the Moldavian ASSR." Here is what at once attracts attention.

At the moment of his arrest, the organs of the UkSSR NKVD did not have at their disposal materials confirming his criminal activity. What was needed was evidence, the testimony of accomplices, as well as his own "confessions." They had to be obtained at any price . . . At his interrogation on 30 June 1937, Staryy altogether denied his connection with the Romanian intelligence service, after a month—he testified that he was recruited in 1918 by the director of the *siguranta* [Romanian political police] Gusaresku and maintained contact with him from 1918 to 1931 through agents. However, the arrested "agents," Blazhanov and Kagan-Geynts, did not testify at the interrogations about the connections with Staryy in espionage work. Subsequently, a check of the relevant archives did not establish that Staryy, Blazhanov and Kagan-Geynts belonged to the intelligence organs of bourgeois Romania.

At the interrogations, G. I. Staryy gave contradictory testimony. Analogous contradictory testimony was also given by the arrested "members" of this fabricated organization. Definitive, convincing confessions were needed. . . . And such a confession was obtained—the declaration, dated 14 September 1937: "I have become convinced that I am a counterrevolutionary, a scoundrel and villain, that I deceived Stalin, my family, and my best comrades. I do not ask for mercy. I ask that I be given the most severe measure of punishment. G. Staryy."

It is terrible to imagine in what manner the confessions of Staryy were beaten out of him, but one can and should imagine this. Today it is becoming clearer how an investigation was conducted by the NKVD during these years. It is sufficient to acquaint oneself with the explanations of the investigators Radzimovskiy and Ushakov, who conducted the criminal case against M. N. Tukhachevsky, I. Ye. Yakir, I. P. Uborevich, and others, who were accused of the organization of a "military-fascist conspiracy" in the Red Army, as well as with the testimonies given in court in their time by the leadership of the NKVD—Yezhov and Frinkovskiy (cf. B. Viktorov, "Conspiracy" in the Red Army," *PRAVDA*, 29 April 1988). The terrible tortures are also indicated by the drops of blood on several pages of the protocols written during the interrogation of Tukhachevsky and his comrades-in-arms. . . .

But let us return again to the materials that shed light on the last months of the life of G. I. Staryy, in which we read: ". . . the former staff members of the Moldavian ASSR NKVD Ryblin and Zinko, who conducted and directed the investigation of these cases, according to their testimony, applied illegal methods of conducting an investigation. Also ten members of the CPSU, who knew Staryy personally, were questioned. The accusation of Staryy was based on his own "testimony," although at the inquest he gave contradictory testimony.

On 8 October 1937, Staryy was sentenced to capital punishment—execution—by the Special *Troyka* attached to the USSR NKVD for espionage and sabotage activity.

The Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, on 17 September 1955, repealed the decree of the USSR and the USSR Procurator of 8 October 1937 of 8 October 1937 in relation to the G. I. Staryy and dismissed the case against him for the lack of a *corpus delicti* in his actions.

When it rains, it pours, the saying goes. Soon after the arrest of G. I. Staryy, they invited his wife—Yekaterina Sabotayevna Almazova, who at that time worked as rector of the Moldavian Higher Communist Agricultural School (*Komvuz*) in Tiraspol, to the party obkom and suggested that she renounce her husband and to write an unmasking note in the newspaper, otherwise she would have to part with her party membership card and her work.

She refused to betray her beloved man. Later, by decision of the Moldavian Obkom of the Ukrainian KP(b) of 8 July 1937, Ye. S. Almazov was excluded from the members of the party, and in the fall she was arrested. The accusation raised against Yekaterina Sabotayevna was that, while being the rector of *Komvuz*, she allegedly conducted counterrevolutionary work there and was well informed about the activity of the counterrevolutionary organization headed by her husband G. I. Staryy. By decision of the Special Conference attached to the USSR NKVD of 28 October 1937, she was sentenced to 10 years, which she spent in camps in the Komi ASSR. In 1955 Ye. S. Almazov was rehabilitated and was reinstated in the CPSU.

The wave of hanging the labels of "enemies of the people" spread increasingly farther and farther, enveloping the workers of all sectors of the national economy and the spheres of culture of the republic. In industry, F. S. Krestyanishin, the manager of the Moldavian Canning Trust, and S. D. Zhdanovich, the director of the Canning Plant *imeni 1 Maya*, were accused of having conducted their hostile affairs "along the line of the incorrect distribution of crops: Carrots, white roots and the taking away of the base for waterless valley sections. . . ."

"The Trotskyite-Bukharinite wreckers" "were active" also in the republic's People's Commissariat for Agriculture, they were accused of counterrevolutionary subversive work aimed at "the lowering of productivity, the frustration of the introduction of correct crop rotation and the development of animal husbandry, the ruin of Machine Tractor Stations, etc."

Many innocent workers of culture, the system of public education, science, literature and art, and the mass and propaganda media were branded with the stigma of "enemy of the people." The errors allowed in their time and connected, above all, with the search of the ways and the forms of the creation of the new socialist culture, were extolled and used as "arguments" and "evidence"

for the incrimination of many party and state figures, workers of the organs of public education and the creative intelligentsia for various sorts of schemes and acts of sabotage.

The workers of the mass information and propaganda media suffered especially. Work began to "cleanse" the apparatuses of the editorial boards of the the oblast and rayon newspapers and the apparatus of Gosizdat [State Publishing House] and Glavlit [Main Administration for the Safeguarding of Military and State Secrets in the Press] of "enemies of the people." They were accused of publishing counterrevolutionary, Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist conceptions and attempts to weaken the influence of the Bolshevik press on the working masses of Moldavia in order to separate Soviet Moldavia from the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR; of impeding and holding up the development of Moldavian culture and the disruption of the training and promotion of Bolshevik cadres. As a result, the staff of the editors of the rayon newspapers (with the exception of the editors of the Kamenskaya and Kodymkaya rayon newspapers) were almost entirely renewed.

The leadership of the People's Commissariat for Education and the Committee for Art Affairs of the Moldavian ASSR Council of People's Commissars—Kholostenko, Khriplivoy, Kyrlig, Golub, and Kozhukhar—was accused of the conduct of "wrecking" work through the mass transfer of teachers, the premature graduation of students of the circles of the campaign for abolishing illiteracy, etc.

In the course of the cleansing of "enemies of the people" in 1937-1938, during the period from May 1937 to May 1938, i. e., during a year, 135 people were expelled from the party with the brand—"Trotskyite-Zinovievite, bourgeois nationalist counterrevolutionaries, traitors and saboteurs." During 1937 338 people were expelled from the ranks of the Komsomol with the label of "enemies of the people."

The unfolding atmosphere of misfortune—atmosphere of the violation of the true principles of revolutionary development—grows, opening up a direct road to brutality and violence. When Bulgakov's Aloisii Mogarych, who acted, let us say, "only" out of envy and meanness, dashed off false denunciations and doomed to agonizing death dozens of totally unsuspecting people, their friends and children. In the village of Butor of Grigoriopolskiy Rayon alone, more than 150 people became victims of the repressions on the basis of false denunciations. Thus the cases arose literally out of nothing and the reports came. It is possible that no one read them. But they expected them. And come they did. . . . Discussing the dramatic events of that time, the well-known poet and prose writer, P. Dariyenko, wrote in 1961: "We are people of the generation which in those distant years only entered Komsomol life, and we distinctly remember the events that in equal measure poisoned life for everyone of us. This occurred one day in school during a

lesson. The door opened, they came into the class and directly from the lesson took away the teacher, our favorite teacher. For what? It turned out, only because, while reading to us an article from PRAVDA about the romance and heroism of the revolution, he was imprudent enough to leave uncovered a portrait of Tukhachevsky, which was printed in the same paper. The name of the celebrated marshal had at that time already been blasphemously crossed out from the list of the loyal sons of the Fatherland by the ruthless hand. He was branded as an "enemy of the people." This label was also pinned on our teacher. And how was he an enemy of the people? Was it really that during the 15-year long and very difficult fate of the elementary school teacher he did not completely demonstrate his devotion to the people and his love for the party? Was it really not he who was the first to kindle in our young hearts the spirit that illuminated before us the path that led to the cognition of the great Leninist truth?

Savage arbitrariness, like a tornado passing over the party workers and the creative intelligentsia, tore from their ranks a great many honest and talented people. The comrades of the older generation will remember this very well."

However paradoxical, both the tragic and the heroic went side by side, happened simultaneously and in one historical space. On the one hand—mass enthusiasm, which found its striking reflection in the Stakhanovite movement, which called forth an unprecedented growth in labor productivity, revolutionized the production process, and became the means of communist education of the toilers of the city and the village, and, on the other hand—"the struggle against the enemies of the people." In the total number of workers of the Moldavian ASSR, Stakhanovites and shock workers in industry in 1937 constituted 44 percent, including in the canning industry—58 percent. In agriculture the leading production workers numbered more than 25,000 in December 1937. At the same time, any falling out of step in the struggle for records was perceived as opposition to the innovation movement. We open the volume of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia devoted to the USSR, published 40 years ago, and we read: "In 1936, on the basis of the broad Stakhanovite movement, Soviet industry attained the highest production growth rates for the years of the first and second five-year plans—30.2 percent. The development of our national economy was enormously influenced by the decisions of the February-March (1937) Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee. By this time, it had become apparent that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite and Bukharin-Rykov group are a gang of enemies of the people, a gang of spies, saboteurs and agents of foreign intelligence services. . . . The defeat of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite gangs and the increase in the political level of cadres were one of the most important factors of the further economic successes." That kind of direct connection. . . . At that time, some leader of the rayon or oblast scale tried not to lag behind his neighbor in the number

of people arrested in order to curry favor or, if only, as they say, not to place himself "under a monastery," opening up thereby a truly diabolic "competition."

We are leafing through the yellow pages of thick files that reflect the fates of people who became the victims of the repressions. The pen grows cold as we approach the most difficult and most tragic pages of their lives: The protocols of the party meetings, the sessions of the party committees, the excerpts from the protocols dealing with expulsion from the party "for concealing from the party organization the stay. . . with Staryy, for protecting the enemy of the people Staryy," "for concealing from the party his membership in the counterrevolutionary Trotskyite opposition in 1923," information sheets, answers to inquiries about hostile activities, denunciations, memoranda, and declarations of the defendants with the last attempt to demonstrate their innocence. In the files we also encounter pages of fresh white paper, dated from the mid-1950's to the beginning of the 1960's, reading that. . . on such and such a date, the decree of the troika of the NKVD of the Moldavian ASSR with respect to such and such a comrade was repealed by the Military Tribunal of the Odessa Military District and the case against him was dismissed for lack of a corpus delicti. To rehabilitate comrade. . .

In many of these files, there are not yet such pages. . .

Files, files, files. . . Yellow and grey from time. Turning over the decrepit pages, you experience a feeling of fear. . . they are just on the point of disintegrating into pieces, as the fates whose names are entered with violet pencils on the cover of thin cardboard, the names of those who did everything in order for socialism to become a reality, those who gave up their life on behalf of our happiness. Among those who were repressed without any basis were the following: The Bolshevik with prerevolutionary service, I. I. Badeyev, who in the 1920's was the first secretary of the Moldavian Obkom of the Ukrainian KP(b). I. A. Grizo, the chairman of the Tiraspol Gorispolkom and secretary of the party gorkom; A. I. Stroyev, the former chairman of the Moldavian ASSR Council of People's Commissars; as well as the communist workers of the organs of state power M. A. Balukh, Kh. B. Bogopolskiy, S. M. (M. Sh.) Bubnovskiy, G. I. Buchushkan, K. V. (I. S.) Galitskiy, K. F. Gromakovskiy, S. V. Dimitriu, F. S. Krestyanishin, P. I. Kior-Yanaki, I. N. Krivorukov, A. P. Kuznetsov-Kovach, A. F. Negrutsa, R. N. Pavlin, A. G. achinda-Sporosh, K. T. Rayevich, V. Ya. Kholostenko, and others.

Moldavian literature endured great losses during these tragic years. The writers D. Milev, N. Kabak, N. Markov, S. Lekhtser, F. Malay, and others became victims of the repressions.

Subsequently, historical truth triumphed, and these illegally repressed people were rehabilitated. But it is still early to dot one's "i's" and cross one's "t's" here. The

muse of history Clio, the daughter of the goddess of memory Mnemosyne, also justly reminds us of the tragic fate of many participants of the communist underground of Bessarabia, who added considerable forces to the struggle for the restoration of Soviet power in the territory and the reunification with the Soviet Homeland, who in the 1930's crossed over into the Moldavian ASSR and. . . became victims of the repressions during 1937-1938. How unjust fate has proved to be to them! To take, for example, Konstantin Syrba—a participant in the Bessarabian communist underground, a participant in socialist construction, a native of the village of Tsibiriko, now in Kalarashskiy Rayon. A student of the Department of Physics and Mathematics of St. Petersburg University, he worked in the Novyy Lesner Plant and was a participant in a circle of progressively-oriented student youth. Beginning in 1913 he joins the revolutionary movement. In 1917 he enters the ranks of the RKP(b). After the seizure of Bessarabia by royal Romania, he takes part in the organization of the revolutionary underground. Since 1922 he was in the USSR. In 1924, by decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, he returns to Bessarabia, where he becomes a member of the Kishinev Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, then head of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda of the Bessarabian Oblast Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, heads the Central Committee of the Union of Revolutionary Peasants of Bessarabia and the editorial board of the newspaper RABOCHE-KRESTYANSKAYA PRAVDA. He was repeatedly arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In 1934 K. S. Syrba was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the Union of Struggle for the Liberation from the Yoke of Romanian Occupation. The Sigurantsa [Romanian Political Police] tried to seize the courageous member of the underground, who had been sentenced in absentia to 10 years in prison. It became increasingly more difficult to work. In accordance with a decision of the party, he secretly crossed over into the USSR in 1935. He works in Alma-Ata, in the public education system. And. . . in October 1938 the hellish machine of destruction of "enemies of the people" ended the life of K. Syrba. In 1956 he was rehabilitated posthumously.

Recalling the dramatic events of the 1030's in our history, M. S. Gorbachev said: "I think that we never can, and never must forgive or justify what happened in 1937-1938. Those who were in power at that time were responsible for this." However, there are still quite a few people who object to this bitter truth, who take the view: "Why stir up the past?" It seems to them that they are concerned about the young people. But the social well-being of the generation which grew up in the situation where the truth was sacrificed to analogous arguments, speaks for the opposite. It is precisely the lie and semi-truth which corrupts the young and gives rise to a spiritual vacuum and unbelief. Certainly, it is worthwhile to remember the fine film "Repentance" of Tengiz Abuladze, which by right has been called by journalists "the first swallow of restructuring." The protest, despair

and implacability of the heroine of the film, Ketevan Barateli, are the lesson which history gives us in her person. As long as there are people who defend the likes of Varlam Aravidze, historians are obliged to establish the truth, remembering the Leninist words: "To cover up an unpleasant truth with kind words is the most harmful and most dangerous thing for the cause of the proletariat, for the cause of the working masses. However bitter it may be, it is necessary to look the truth directly in the eye." The search for truth, as life shows, requires courage and fearlessness. Truth cannot be distorted for the benefit of external considerations. Karl Marx spoke about this splendidly: "The truth is as little modest as light; what is more, with respect to whom should it be modest?"

After the 20th CPSU Congress, the USSR Supreme Court and the special commissions created by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet launched into a great deal of work with respect to the rehabilitation of the victims of repressions that took place not only in the 1930's but also in the 1940's and at the beginning of the 1950's. Thousands upon thousands of people, including the sons and daughters of Moldavia, had their honest name restored. In the 1960's the historians of the republic undertook a modest attempt to return to the pages of the historical literature the names of figures in the party, the state, and socialist construction, those who were the first to pass through on the road to the creation of a new society—names that had been deleted from it. (Cf. "Ocherki istorii Kommunisticheskoi partii Moldavii" [Essays on the History of the Communist Party of Moldavia], Kishinev, 1964, p. 157; "Istoriia Moldavskoi SSR" [History of the Moldavian SSR], Vol II, Kishinev, 1968, p. 185). However, already in the second half of the 1960's, the process of rehabilitation was suspended. They tried not to mention the repressions themselves and not to write about them.

#### **Historian Cites Belorussian Shortcomings in Historiography**

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[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Mikhnyuk: "On the Road and Along the Edges": "Polemical Notes on How to Restore Authority to Historical Sciences, Partially Lost During the Years of Stagnation, and to Energize its Social Functions in Conditions of Perestroika"]

[Text] A lively, attention-getting dialog is going on right now on the state of affairs in our historiography. And this is inevitable. Under conditions of perestroika there has been significant growth in interest in the history of our country, in the experience and lessons of building socialism, and in the sources and reasons for our achievements and our miscalculations. Without an in-depth understanding of what was in the past, we cannot entirely grasp what is going on among us today, and why. History is the social memory of the people, of society.

But unfortunately, for some time its reflections have become tarnished, which has become especially apparent today. A unique crisis of faith in historiography has sprung up. And this in spite of the fact that it is the principal accumulator of experience, nourishes the human consciousness, presents instructive lessons, and teaches us to take the optimal decisions.

It goes without saying that in order to restore the authority of historiography, partially lost during the years of stagnation and to energize its social functions in conditions of perestroika, new and non-standard approaches are necessary; and the worn-out cliches and dogma which deadened and froze the creative questing and lively thought of the scholars must be decisively rejected.

How should the perestroika of Belorussian historiography proceed in my opinion? As in any other sphere (for example, physical production, social relationships, intellectual life and so on), one should, I think, begin with the exposure of those factors and causes which led the science to a state of stagnation. And there is an entire complex of them. The most important in my view are: the scientific cadres, planning and coordination of research, and information support to historians; the connection of scientific elaboration with social practice, and with the needs of social life; scientific discussions, propagating the works of historians and historical knowledge via mass information media, in lecture presentations, and the teaching of history in the elementary schools. The latter demands special attention; for, in the words of one actively speaking out for perestroika in Soviet historiography, Yu.N. Afanasyev, "The teaching of history has been seriously neglected; historical ecology has been distorted to the limit; and social memory has been weakened to the level of dystrophy."

In a word, today one must speak the truth, no matter how impartial it is. A realistic view of the state of the science is needed. And it should be worked out collectively, in a stimulating manner and even in hot debate if need be. But, it goes without saying, without hanging out political labels and accusations. And our historians, most of them, are still in a state of shock, and even a state of rapture.

The level of science, as it has always been, rests on the achievements of our predecessors. To flog them for that which they did not to, or to belittle their contribution to the accumulation of scholarly knowledge is a fruitless occupation. It is more important to quickly and precisely lay out what must be done today and who can do it best.

And so, the cadres of historians. At the present time there are 79 doctors and more than 600 candidates of historical sciences in the BSSR. We are speaking about those scholars who hold diplomas. But what does the corps of doctors consist of in terms of basic specialization and with respect to age? Four are occupied with problems of archaeology; 16, with the epoch of feudalism



and capitalism; 10 with the period of the October Revolution and the civil war; 42 with socialist construction (including four on the Great Patriotic War). Only one doctor of sciences among the archaeologists and medievalists is under 60 years of age. And the prospects are far from encouraging. At the same time the question arises: Do we really need so many specialists on the modern period?

We will not debate at which age a scholar is the most prolific. We can say that only a dozen or so historians, doctors of sciences, have published books and brochures after their 60th birthday. Among them are Academician I.M. Ignatenko of the BSSR Academy of Sciences and corresponding members I.Ye. Marchenko and P.T. Petrikov; also Doctors of Sciences D.P. Zhmurovskiy, V.I. Meleshko, Z.Yu., Kopysskiy, Ya.N. Marash, A.N. Matsko, V.F. Romanovskiy, P.A. Selivanov, A.F. Khatskevich, T.Ye. Solodkov, and certain others. But many people of this age group do not display the attributes of creative life.

It is well-known that it is namely the doctors who are summoned to move science ahead, to discover the main and most promising directions for its development. But in fact it often turns out that a candidate's dissertation is the entrance to science, while a doctor's is the exit.

And if one seriously thinks about developing science at the level of today's demands, and the still higher demands of tomorrow—beyond doubt one must become involved with in-depth training of specialists of the highest caliber. But one gets the impression that those who have led and continue to lead historiography in the republic do not have a clue of the degree of need for these specialists, neither how many are needed today, nor how many will be needed in five years. Meanwhile the preparation and defense of doctoral dissertations in the republic is an intricate matter. Apparently owing to a subjectivist attitude, a number of scholars have been forced to defend their dissertations in other cities in the country. In the last five-year plan every third doctoral dissertation by Belorussian historians was defended beyond the borders of the republic.

Rarely does such a doctoral dissertation on history from Belorussia pass through the USSR VAK [Higher Attestation Commission] without anonymous letters. And do not think that in such situations there was a struggle for the purity and high class of diplomaed specialists, in the interests of science; on the contrary, more often than not it was contrary to science. Understandably, such things do not favor a healthy creative situation.

One must also speak of the attitude toward historians. Here are certain facts. How many living Distinguished Figures of Science do we have? Not one. Perhaps there are laureates of the State Prize or other prize? There are. P.T. Petrikov is a laureate of the Ukrainian SSR State

Prize. He was recognized from outside the boundaries of the republic. Only a few of our historians have received prizes from the Belorussian Komsomol.

Among the historians in the republic there is only one academician from the BSSR Academy of Sciences—I.M. Ignatenko; and there are four corresponding members—V.K. Bondarchik, S.V. Martselev, I.Ye. Marchenko, and P.T. Petrikov. And in 1929 when the BSSR Academy of Sciences was established its active members were five scholars with a historic profile (out of 31 academicians). This bears witness to the great attention toward historiography, an interest which was very great indeed in those times.

It must be admitted that there are few true movers and shakers in the sciences. It is a truism that a good organizer and a talented scholar are not always one and the same. But the interests of science demand with increasing insistence that these qualities reside in one person. Among us it often happens that a person is made a scholar by the position he holds. Thus, the highest titles in historiography in the republic as a rule, have gone to administrators at the level of directors of institutes and their deputies. Hence the irrepressible striving for positions which open such prospects, and not an orientation toward making a personal contribution, as opposed to some kind of composite contribution to the advancement of scientific knowledge.

Everyone knows that in order to become a candidate or a doctor of sciences, one must prepare a dissertation. But what must one do in order to become a corresponding member of an academician? One must occupy a high administrative-scientific position.

Having said that I must add that these titles are not simply honorary and prestigious. One pays dearly for them. At the republic level, 350 rubles for an academician, and 175 for a corresponding member. And for the USSR Academy of Sciences the figures are greater by a factor of nearly 1.5 and 2.0, respectively. For what? (Incidentally, such titles are purchased only in our country, and in Spain.)

Who heads the scientific subdivisions today and who will lead them tomorrow? This is far from an idle question. Whether a true leader will come, capable of running a creative collective; or whether he will become just another competitor for a highly-paid title, is important. One would like to see the scientific leadership positions, at various levels, filled with people who are talented, who have a passionate love for science, who lead from a solid civic and party position.

Constructive solution of all these tasks should be sought on the way to democratization of scientific life, which in our milieu is making its way with difficulty. Confirmation is found in the fact that thus far the collectives of scientific workers have been refused the right to elect their leaders by democratic means.

In concluding our dialog on the problems of cadres and ways for developing historiography, it must be stated that its restructuring and its future success lie in the hands of today's undergraduates and graduate-students. For the cadres brought up under the conditions of stagnation, which defines the face of historiography today, are for the most part incapable, at the given moment, of making cardinal changes in the situation or writing fresh, principally new and profound works. After all, in order to achieve this, a colossal amount of research work in the archives is required, and creative rethinking of all historiography. In a word, a considerable amount of physical and intellectual effort, and time, are needed in order to master the new thinking and new approaches to research.

However, I do not want to present the case, such that the dogmatics and conservatives in historiography are only hoary-headed, gray-bearded scholars. One should not forget that the latest generation of researchers also grew up under the conditions of stagnation, and its thinking has become stereotyped. I make this conclusion on the basis of personal experience as well.

Success in the restructuring of our science also depends largely upon how soon we are able to smash the ideological-political and moral-psychological stereotypes which have taken shape among historians over the past two decades. It is namely these which have led to the emasculation of a creative, dialectical approach to research, to the search for noncontroversial topics and their descriptive illumination, and to commentary on official documents. But young people are, of course, more receptive to restructuring. The political and moral atmosphere being created today in society opens the prospects for the growth of new scientific forces, for the promotion of capable cadres, and the flourishing of their creativity.

Certain of these questions might have been resolved in the course of the attestation of scientific cadres held the year before last; however, it was conducted in a perfunctory manner in the system of the BSSR Academy of Sciences, and our academic institute of history was no exception. It was a good cause that was planned—to conduct a kind of check on all cadres. The best and most prolific working scholars should have received, both an increase in scientific responsibility and a raise in salary commensurate with their contribution. And those whose creative output was less, should occupy an appropriate position among the junior, senior, leading, and chief scientific associates. But things did not turn out that way at all in practice.

Here is an example. One senior scientific associate, a candidate of sciences, had for the five-year plan prior to the attestation only a single printed page of published products, both planned and non-planned; another had, let's say—20. The difference is obvious. And we are not even taking quality into consideration. The products of both the former, and the latter were neither condemned nor praised. It would seem that such a difference should

have had at least some kind of reflection in their wages. But that did not happen. There were only on the order of 10 people found in the institute among the senior scientific associates, whose wages were increased by 30-40 rubles. Money for an incentive to others, who had earned that right, did not turn up; for no one had "sliced up" the wages and the wage fund remained the same. Tradition and stereotypes were at work here: a candidate allegedly must needs receive more than one who is not a candidate, and a doctor—still more. Such a situation clearly does not stimulate the creative energies of scientific workers.

There are also other factors, which in my opinion, have brought about the present, far-from-satisfactory state of historiography; shall we say the level of training of cadres, their education and talent. Just imagine a young, energetic graduate student whose mind is dedicated to science, who has decided to make a discovery: How many obstacles there are in his way!

It is well-known that for a historian the documents in the archives are the living fibers from which the historical cloth is woven. In other words, authentic, qualitative raw materials are the basis for a good, interesting, scholarly product, be it an article, a monograph or a dissertation.

And so this young and energetic scholar comes to the archives. What do they give him in this treasure house of historical facts and information. Well in most cases only that which his predecessors have already looked at. But it is hardly ever possible to build new conclusions on the basis of old and widely-known facts. At every step in the archives there are instructions in effect which strictly regulate access to the sources. And most often one hears: "We do not circulate this; access to this is limited." And departmental archives are practically always closed to researchers. As a result, that to which they have been given access, has on the whole already entered the scientific circuit.

All right, let's suppose our young and energetic fellow nevertheless managed to get access, and has read up on many different documents and materials, some of which have been dusted off for the first time. But after this no one knows how much of his work he will be swindled out of and how much will be censored for various reasons, under the guidance of those same old instructions: "This information or data must not be permitted to enter the scientific circuit," and so on.

However, let us not hasten to reproach the responsible official in the archives for not providing access to new information on some-such subject. After all, he is carrying out his instructions. Incidentally, in the republic's archives, only isolated individuals have the degree of candidate of historical sciences.

Thus, the first filter, and quite a powerful one, on the way to truth in historical science has "operated." Nevertheless the researcher, be he a graduate student or a

scientific associate of whatever rank, still has to write his article or monograph; that is, complete the planned topic or dissertation. And he writes something, quite often without possession of the entire aggregate of facts.

Then work with the text of the manuscript begins—collective work, well laid out over many years, in accordance with established procedure. It is read and notes are made in the departments and sectors, at the academic department and in scholarly councils, by scientific administrators, reviewers, and skilled specialists—and not very—each on the basis of his own level of experience, training, knowledge and position in the administrative-scholarly hierarchy. The so-called councils quite often express their desires in a categorical form. They are entered in the protocols, and are to be taken into consideration upon “further revision of the manuscript.” If you want to get anywhere, you must eliminate the “shortcomings,” or else they will not recommend it for printing or defending.

Next one must overcome another barrier in the way to moving the manuscript along to a larger circle of readers. These are the scientific and publishing editors, the official opponents, and the officials at the various controlling departments.

Imagine that the manuscript (true not every one) passes through this purgatory as well. The “sharp corners” and controversial questions are deleted from it. And a new circuit of chopping begins when the manuscript is received at the publishers. Purging in the best meaning of the word—scientific-editing, stylistic and so on—is accepted by any author with thanks for the assistance. After all, there is no limit to perfection. But the external reviewer (who is, but not always, a narrow specialist in the area on which the work is written) presents a mass of new requirements. The publishing editors are very zealous in seeing that the remarks of “their own” reviewers are implemented. If you want the things to move along, you do what they tell you. The author must respond to the publisher in writing, on every point: those with which you agree, and those with which you do not agree, and why; ignoring not even obviously groundless recommendations and remarks.

It is a lucky man who encounters a sensible, intelligent and knowledgeable editor; such as, in my view, one finds many of at the *NAUKA I TEKHNIKA* Publishing House. But you see at certain other publishing houses one finds mainly ostentation and the cultivation of truisms and common phraseology. It is indeed a paradox, but it is many of the editors themselves who are the most zealous adherents to clichés. With their active participation, a process of standardization of books has occurred (and still goes on here and there), an emasculation of the author's individuality. Thus, now that the historical work has been filtered who knows how many times, what has been removed from it? Primarily, everything that has been introduced to the scientific circuit for

the first time—new facts, names, observations, debatable questions, and controversial analyses. At all stages of passage of the manuscript, it is precisely on these “targets” that precision fire is laid. In a word, what is going on is the dogmatizing of the old postulates. A fine manuscript is quite often reduced to mediocrity. For the sake of fairness one must admit that poor ones are also brought to that level.

Finally the book has been published. Once again there are new reviews, as a rule by the leading specialists of the highest qualifications. One might ask, where were they before? And it continues, headlong: this was not done; and that should have been elucidated differently—a categorical, prosecutorial tone, and a pretense to the final arbiter of the truth.

But with such critics one can, as they say, still live. If they scold you a bit, nevertheless they indicate the prospects for further work and provide learned counsel. But if one encounters an ill-informed person? Let's say one who is himself continually occupied with the history of the partisan movement in the years of the Great Patriotic War, but takes it upon himself to render “professional” judgment on how the history of Ancient Polotsk should be elucidated, or the events of the 1920's and 1930's.

How can one get even half of what one has given thought to, expounded and written down through this entire bureaucratic thicket? An author expends a great deal of effort and nerves on this path, and then may altogether lose the desire to engage in historical research.

What kind of books find the going tough at all levels? Works with originality, which pose a problem in a new manner or resolve it in a new way, as well as almost all works in which pre-revolutionary history is illuminated. It is namely these which arouse the multitudes of questions among those involved in their preparation for publishing. But you see, a rather dull work passes through rather quietly and calmly—and with time makes its way from the bookstores to the recycling bin. This is the well-oiled braking mechanism of historiography that must be destroyed, and all responsibility should be invested in the main figures—the scholar himself, and the scientific administrator.

But the historians themselves cannot do this. They need effective assistance. It is very appropriate at this point to recall the words of M.S. Gorbachev on the fact that, “The revolutionary changes going on in society require not only restructuring of social science itself, but also a number of significant positive achievements with respect to it, both on the part of the other sciences, and from that of society as a whole.”

Historiography consists, as they say, of two layers: the first consists of the published monographs, brochures and articles; the second, the research works in the form of manuscripts of candidate and doctoral dissertations,

which are not sufficiently known among the wider circle of readership. What is the direction of such works? In my opinion this is a far from idle question.

During the past five-year plan, 150 candidate's dissertations were defended in the republic and beyond its borders. Their topics embrace all epochs in the history of the BSSR. But take a look at the structure of the research problems. On the history of Belorussia in the period of feudalism, 13 candidate's dissertations were defended; on the period of capitalism, 4; on the October Revolution and the Civil War, 7; on pre-war socialist construction, 13; on the Great Patriotic War, 5; and on post-war development of Soviet society (up to 1960), 7. And 70 research projects are devoted to the contemporary period of the past 20 years.

With respect to those young historians—candidates of sciences—who were oriented toward study of the modern period, the so-called period of stagnation: one can say with confidence that the works of the majority of them are not worth much. Moreover, they themselves are unable to grow in a professional sense by jumping on the bandwagon of falsification; for painstaking scholarly analysis was, in many of their works, replaced by eulogy or noncritical commentary.

In the area of historiography, obedience has been prized above all; and this is favorable soil for the growth of creative servility. It turns out, that on their entry into scholarship our young research cadres were given a poor lesson. Of course that is not their fault; it is sooner their misfortune. But now we are not afraid to admit that the dogmatic interpretation of the history of socialism was furnished with support from above. It was pointed out at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, that "Quite often we have even encouraged all sorts of scholasticist theorizing, which has nothing whatever to do with anyone's interests and vital problems; while attempts at constructive analysis and the promotion of new ideas found no support."

There is yet another problem, and it is no less important. Much of that which has been published was written on the basis of the requirements of instructions from VAK

USSR, and not in the interest of the readership. Obviously, such products are uniform not only in form, but are also predictable in terms of content. The wages of scientific workers and instructors at VUZ's depend entirely on diplomas as candidates or doctors of sciences, and not on what they have had published; moreover, their wages are guaranteed. At the very same time, miserly honoraria do not stimulate the publication of scientific works which are not stipulated in the Plan.

All of this has had a decisive influence on the formulation of research problems and their execution. In modern history, only the so-called dissertation-able topics are selected, and not the burning topics of the day. And thus it turns out, that science exists for the scientists themselves. Candidate and doctoral dissertations are necessary only to the competitors themselves, and diplomas are a unique kind of ration coupon for one's daily bread. And there are hardly any interesting, attractive books on history, written by professionals. Such a practice also forms the corresponding type of scholar: he has but one goal—first the candidate's, and then the doctoral dissertation; thus not only is his salary higher, even his moral actions are elevated. But it never has been a simple matter to write a good work on history. And they never do take them up, even if they had some sort of design, and the talent. After all, their goal—a pension—is already beckoning on the horizon.

Obviously—the range of problems in historiography on which I have touched is significantly broader. Nor do I, in my opinions, pretend to be "the final arbiter of the truth;" therefore, I have labeled these remarks polemical. One thing is completely clear: the powerful ideological significance of historiography has been recognized since ancient times. History is the teacher of the citizen, the patriot, the internationalist; it formulates one's socialist and nationalist self-awareness; and it nurtures it with the living juices of the difficult experience of the preceding generations. And it is only on the truthful, and the fullest possible illumination of that which the country and the nation has lived through that we can assert the ideals of creativity, have faith in the success of perestroika, and strengthen the political, cultural and moral-psychological health of our society.

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### Prominent Writers Voice Views As Conference Delegates

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Collection of Articles: "In Anticipation of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference: The Writer Delegates Speak"]

[Text]

#### Daniil Granin: "Soloists, Not Chorus Members"

The CPSU Central Committee's Theses for the XIXth All-Union Party Conference read: "The creative unions are called upon to participate actively in all perestroyka processes, to undergo perestroyka themselves, reinterpreting their position and role, and to make fuller use of their capabilities under the current new conditions." These words have been applied not only to the creative unions, but also to trade unions, komsomol groups, cooperatives, scientific associations and other organizations. One would think, however, that they are particularly applicable to associations of members of the artistic intelligentsia and that the key concepts here are creative and creation! Would we not do well to adopt a creative approach to the modes of existence of our unions themselves? By creative I mean here: in the interests of furthering creativity. Indeed, just think: we are working within the framework of organizational structures which were developed in the thirties, and which in recent years have pretty well ossified, turning, in essence, into a purely administrative system. In this capacity, it must be said, the system is quite efficient even today, due, in many respects and despite all its faults, to the electoral system which has been developed. But after all, we call this a "creative" union! And as such the existing system has outlived itself in many respects. Are our so-called creative sections really that creative? Do truly creative discussions arise that often in them? Well, of course, such things do happen: here and there, in spurts. But I venture to assert that as a continuously acting cohesive force the majority of our sections on prose, poetry, criticism are simply not viable!

Up until recently, one could, out of pragmatism, reconcile oneself to this, or at least resign oneself. But in recent years, let us say the last 3 years, serious differences have arisen among writers who theoretically belong to a single "shop," differences in views, positions, artistic intentions, and even on ideological issues, such as attitudes to our cultural heritage, to works which have been brought out of hiding into the light of day, and, finally, to Stalinism. There is nothing terrible about this. Indeed, it is a normal manifestation of creative life, even a good thing, since writers are fundamentally soloists and not chorus members. Furthermore, even a good choir cannot have everyone singing the same part and in unison.

Unison? Well, of course, that is indispensable too. And it is a great joy to find someone with whom one can be in total accord. But why must this person necessarily be from my "shop"? For example, I may find much more to talk about with some poets or critics, than I do with some fellow prose writers! And indeed the very division of literature into genre-based "sections" is, in many respects, too formal for the needs of today. Nowadays, there really are not all that many "pure" poets or novelists. One is more likely to find a poet who is also a publicist or a prose writer who is also a critic or playwright, and so forth, in all possible combinations.

What am I driving at? I believe that the times demand that there should exist creative associations based on principles of creative and ideological similarity within the union (at least within the framework of its regional organizations). The film makers have such associations, if only within the framework of the film studios! The structure of writers' associations should be discussed when we plan how we will "undergo perestroyka ourselves." And we should bear in mind that these associations should be conceived of not merely as some kind of salons or discussion groups, but should have the capacity to publish, have their own editorial tribunals.

A propos of this, let me say a few words about the state of our journals. Whose are they today? In theory, they are the organs of the USSR Writers' Unions, the republic unions, and local writers' associations. In actuality, they are the "patrimonies" of their editors-in-chief, the majority of whom have not been replaced for decades. Lifetime appointments! Even when an editor has the best possible personal qualities, this has got to lead to ossification and stagnation. The journals must be returned to the writers by introducing obligatory replacement of editors (by competition) every 5 years, extendible, in exceptional cases, for a second term. And this mechanism must be obligatory and universal. The change of leadership in the Leningrad journals has shown how painfully drawn out this process can be in the absence of an appropriate mechanism. You start the process and suddenly it seems as if catastrophe has occurred, you cannot find a worthy replacement. More trust must be placed in the writers, including those we consider "young." If today we are going to speak seriously about improving the system for electing party members and members of the government, if we have decided to elect the heads of large enterprises, why should literary journals be the exception?

These competitions should not be postponed, they must be held as soon as possible for all journals where the editors have held their positions for more than 10 years. Of course, we will have to work out some of the details: how will the preliminary competition be conducted, who will act as jury? Well, what of it, let's work them out. After all this is a creative matter, and these are creative times.

**Yuriy Chernichenko: "The Ax To the Vine of Coercion"**

The area in which I work has probably experienced the changes of perestroika less than any other. We have not started to eat better, if one is speaking seriously and not just generating the fog of propaganda. And yet, the most revolutionary words of socialism spoken after October 1917, "from a grain requisition system to a tax in kind system," referred to agriculture. These were the most revolutionary measures for Russian, Hungarian, Chinese, etc. life. The next 70 years offered nothing more "radical," more significant than this change.

"From grain requisition to tax in kind," from unlimited power over someone else's property, first to legally limited and then to free trade in grain—this measure mandated by Lenin was performed rapidly, almost instantaneously, by our nation, for the first time in history. One does not renounce such historical primacy.

Revolution is always a review of the question of power and property. In this sense, perestroika is no different from other revolutions. Only one day requires replacement, the anti-St. George's day of the kolkhoz system, when the authorities, with feudal power, confiscates "the labor, the property, and the time of the farmer," or, to put it concretely in everyday terms, requisitions grain from the peasant and agricultural workers. In the jargon of those in charge this is called "the question of grain-fodder balance." On that day, it turns out again and again that the fruits of your labor do not belong to you, that your "feeling of ownership" is simply the rhetoric of the inveterate orators and propagandists, while the plan like a goose's neck, twists off in another direction.

"Without problems we are not needed," "Having created a problem, solve it." This bitter sarcasm no longer strikes anyone as funny. The extension of the Food Program for 10 years forces us to prepare for new difficulties: and how, what, and to whom can we go for help?

In my working life, I have experienced 35 anti-St. George's days over the course of seven 5-year plans. Not one of them produced the requisite amount of grain. The fetish of the plan (attempts to control the weather) collapsed leading to glaring examples of plan nonfulfillment (we have produce twice as much wheat as we need, but are buying it for food from North America, etc.) and created the situation we have today, which, from the standpoint of feeding the nation, is not at all disastrous, just confused, comical, or to put in Russian, shameful. The only thing good about this situation is that it cannot get any more confused and shameful.

We have ration cards for meat, butter, sugar, in the majority of industrial centers and the food store shelves are empty in those small cities where there are no ration cards (coupons). And this is the case 44 years after the Victory, after Stalin's plan to increase animal husbandry, Lysenko's discoveries, the September Plenary Session of

Nikita Sergeyevich (Khrushchev), virgin soil, corn, irrigation, patronage, intensive sowing, and a thousand other measures for getting away from grain requisition.

We are importing foodstuffs, to an extent that ravages and lays waste the budget, with virtually every other kilogram of grain consumed (directly or in processed form) coming from abroad. We have given birth to a kind of overweight monster: an economy of parasitism. I would have to do research to find out if such a situation had ever occurred in other nations (for example, did England, now an exporter, import such a large proportion of what it ate from the colonies), but I suspect that our fertile black-earth land has set a record for all times and peoples. For this reason, they conceal both ends of the stick: first, anti-St. George's day, a completely secret act of the oblast committee perpetrated on a chairman who knows how to keep his mouth shut, and the finale, i.e., the pathological importing of food.

We have already tried everything except the simplest and most logical: to abolish requisitions. Only one thing is necessary—to replace the feudal law of "grain-fodder balance," and replace it not some time in the twenty-first century, but in time for the harvest of 1988. There has been procrastination, references to some sort of special difficulties attributed to the enemies of perestroika: like bad dancers they always have some excuse. At any rate, kolkhozes, as cooperative enterprises, starting with this year's harvest can sell their own harvest, without orders from higher organs, without heart attacks, without severe reprimands, without criminal proceedings, without "relinquish your Party membership card." "Things couldn't get any worse" also provides a kind of security—not a bad place to begin.

After the gross yield of grain in China increased by 100 million tons in a small number of years, without capital investment, high technology, and without cost, millions of our graying rural heads started to think about the role of productive relationships??. Most likely, our potential for a tax in kind is not smaller, but greater than theirs. A quarter of the increase (exactly corresponding to the Chinese 100 million tons) could be made up simply by eliminating losses! Curtailment of the production of such quantities of useless wheat, lost in combine harvesting and other such technological idiocy, perestroika of grain-fodder balance (without quotation marks) not for the benefit of the authorities, but for the people, the consumers, could in the small number of years make USSR agriculture a driving rather than an inhibiting force in the economy. People will be fed in different ways—but are they all fed with government rations today? Some things obviously will be so expensive as to be beyond means of many—but today, does a workman have a half kilo of hard sausage for dinner at a cost of 11 rubles? When we get real money, families will have to budget their money for food—but today, do mothers just hand over their money, without paying attention to cost? And they are afraid of losing the chance to buy beef when they have the good luck to find it for sale!??

Things will not get any worse. There is nowhere to go but up! All that remains is to burn the "vine of coercion."

**Yuriy Mushketik: "I Am Expecting the Unpredictable"**

Kiev. What do I expect from the party conference? Some results, I think, can already be predicted today, and some cannot. I am certain that the Theses of the CC CPSU will, on the whole, be approved, and thus will become the program of action for the party, and thus, for our whole society; that it will give new impetus to the enthusiasts, involve the vacillators in perestroika, and cut the ground out from under the feet of perestroika's opponents. However, of course, this will be a long-term and difficult process. In physics there is a term "metal fatigue." If even metal can become fatigued, how can the human spirit resist? For many decades our spirits have endured the burden of many high pressure campaigns, demands to "outstrip" and "catch up", false truths, and unfulfillable goals. This kind of "overheating" has worn out the motive force of the spirit—faith. Today the spirit has to recover, has to be fought for.

If you want to rebuild (restructure) a house, the first thing you must do is to convince the people who are going to live in it that it is being rebuilt properly, in other words, you must restructure the psychology of the future resident of the house. Spiritual and psychological perestroika today requires that we find the spiritual meaning of man's existence itself, meaning which was lost in previous years, when man was reduced to the role of a "cog," when, in the best case, they spoke of scientific, but never of spiritual, understanding of the reality which surrounds us. We, the writers, must be the first to catch sight of this renewed human being, to portray him on the pages of our books the way he is in reality and, together with him, the contemporary hero, break out of the routine of Stalin's rantings and dogmas, and set forth together on the difficult road to attainment of justice, goodness, truth, honor, and conscience. We must learn to call good and evil by their true names, to seek out the core of our new times, and evaluate it in the light of the future.

Numerous meetings with readers, conferences, and letters have convinced me that the people still believe in writers and in literature. Yes, this faith has worn thin, but it has not disappeared irrevocably. They have faith and understand that our repentance and thirst for redemption, our painful quarrels and quests are not for own personal benefit and purification alone. We cannot help but be disturbed by the fact that certain of our countrymen continue to consider what existed in the past and not what exists today, to be the truth do not want to change the wheels and the "thrust" on the worn out steam engine.

A representative forum, such as this party conference, must strengthen new thinking, about which we have said so much, so that it permeates our faith and our actions, our philosophy. Much of that from which they are now

tearing the decrepit and decaying clothing, much of the pain and ulceration, about which we knew or guessed, was under a taboo, we could not exchange opinions, pool our knowledge at a philosophical level, at the level of artistic truth. And even now, at times, we rush "in the campaign spirit" to call the bitter sweet and vice versa; we dash from side to side, and pass off an ordinary everyday fact as a truth of the highest order; or, in the process of trying to fell old, bent over trees we trample the young shoots. For writers, this is a time for profound thought, for finding the place of the past in the single chain of human development, a time for interpretation and writing of works which are not trivial, undertaken to satisfy the demands of the moment, but are written out of universal human right and truth.

There will be much for us to restructure and redo in life. Take for example the publishing business. We are restructuring it mainly by talking. The books the people need, those that raise urgent questions of modern life, are standing in line, one behind the other, awaiting publication long years hence, and books unjustly removed from the literary process here in the Ukraine are only beginning on their journey to the reader. They are appearing timidly, reticently, surrounded by a palisade of reservations. Cooperative publishing houses, publishing works at the author's expense are almost utopian ideas; there is no paper, no publishing facilities, no ... desire.

We ourselves in the writers' union are doing ten times more talking than acting. We create Everests of words, a Mont Blanc of appeals.. directed primarily at others. After all, we have not yet learned how to bring our plans to life, and are striving once again to shift everything onto the civil servants. Everyone must render accounts to the people consult with them, the republic and oblast organization and departments. Nothing can be done in cells, secretly; since a secret most frequently conceals a bitter reality. The clearest example of this is ecology. The problem of the Siberian rivers, lake Aral, the Dnepr, the Polesye region have a single common problem, a single concern, and a single misfortune.

Or to take another example. Today we hear and read that the years of stagnation had a negative effect on the problems of national culture, particularly on the language. (I would call this phenomenon not stagnation, but movement backwards.)

In many republics special resolutions have been passed by the Central Committees, but in some places these resolutions have not been put into practice efficiently, or even, one would like to say, willingly. Propaganda in favor of studying one's native language and national history, consigned in the past to almost complete oblivion, is being carried out almost exclusively through the efforts of writers. It is as if they were trying to redeem themselves. As if it is precisely the writers who were to blame for the fact that many cities do not retain a single school with instruction in the indigenous language, for



the fact that the indigenous language has been crowded out to the far periphery of social life. In the republic forums, the only people who speak in the indigenous language are dairy maids, tractor drivers, and—writers. It's as if only the writers' grandfathers and great-grandfathers spoke and wrote in this language and cried "glory" at Zheltyye Vody and at Pereyaslava! But where are the voices of the scholars, state and social figures? For example, at a native language festival in Poltava, again they were not to be heard. Oh, do not exhaust the depths of our national (and international) culture, as decades ago you exhausted the depths of the earth in this same marvelous Poltava, mining and selling for a pittance the best oil in the world. For we have to live here for a long time, to live and to build!

And in our own internal literary life, we have not yet found the right lever to shunt the system of administration from the bureaucratic onto the democratic rails. The people are coming to us; we get floods of letters; we penetrate into many spheres of the life of society; while our own sphere is immersed in routine and desolation. We must develop a collegial method of administration, particularly, co-chairmanship by the members of the board, we must trust each other more and demand more of each other, and encourage activism in the young...

I think the conference is giving us a push in this direction. In an relaxed atmosphere of glasnost, the boldest, most unexpected ideas, thoughts and projects may arise, winning us over through their innovativeness, and bringing benefits to our fatherland. It is these instances of the unpredictable that I expect from the upcoming forum.

**Yanis Peters: "Trust Your Conscience"**

We are setting off now to the XIXth Party Conference full of the same thoughts and emotions which all of Soviet society is experiencing.

At the plenary session of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, when there was a secret ballot, I suddenly felt very strongly that true political life has been resurrected in our party and our country. Evidently, this is the reason why disputes and disagreements arose when candidates for delegates to the XIXth Party Conference were discussed. It is very important and gratifying that the delegates were elected by secret ballot and were not preselected, as had previously been the case. I am even proud that I was not elected unanimously. In my opinion, this fact, more than anything else, attests that the election process was not biased or prearranged.

A plenary session of the Latvian Writers' Union was convened on June 1-2 in Riga with representatives from all the creative unions in our republic participating. The speeches given at the session contained much pain and intense interest in solutions to the vital problems that trouble the people of the republic. I would like to carry within myself the elevated civic, and moral tone of this

meeting and apply it to the work at the conference. And if I am given the floor there, the first topic I would raise would be problems of inter-ethnic relationships. It seems to me that this discussion could usefully start with the status of the union republics in the Soviet Federation. We must develop and strengthen Soviet Federalism, its basis is Lenin's principle that the union republics should exist as sovereign states, and not as territories, on which the state finds it profitable to place one or another productive capacity.

The demographic situation in our republic today is such, that due to ill-considered measures, extensively developing the economy, the indigenous population has become a minority. This has given rise to ethnic pessimism in the Latvian people, and frequently depression and political apathy. It is well known that during the establishment of Soviet power, Latvian sharpshooters self-sacrificingly helped to save it, and were the first revolutionarily conscious component of the new Red Army, as well as the personal body guard of V.I. Lenin. And today we have a situation where the Soviet authorities must take measures to save the people of the Latvian sharpshooters from disappearance. Of course, this sounds paradoxical, but we know that history is full of bigger paradoxes than this one.

At the present moment of history, it is completely legitimate for the Communist Party of Soviet Latvia to have as one of its most important goals the preservation and development of the Latvian people, their language and culture. This people, which gave so much of its blood for the victory of socialism, must not disappear from the face of the earth after this victory. However, I do not distinguish thoughts about my people from thoughts about the relationship between all the republics of our state, and also about the fate of Russia. After all, the administrative and bureaucratic apparatus does not distinguish among peoples when it tramples on their vital interests. The conference must have a radical influence on the situation which has arisen with regard to interethnic and interrepublic interrelationships, and in, particular, must abolish the crude pressure from all-union ministries and departments, which appear to subordinate the power of the local Soviets, from the village Soviets to republic parliaments, to petty bureaucratic concerns, demagogically covering their tracks with slogans about internationalism and friendship among peoples.

I hope that at the XIXth Party Conference we will see a reorganization of the electoral system, which, by its very nature, should facilitate the placing of worthy and responsible people in positions of leadership throughout our state. By democratizing our internal processes, for example, introducing limitations on terms of office for positions of power, the party only proves that it is truly the leader of the whole social and political life of the nation.



I consider that active revolutionary renewal, at the party's call, beginning in the political as well as the social-cultural spheres of our society, will not leave important figures in literature and art indifferent. This has been attested in many articles in the republic and all-union press enlisting writers and scientists, architects and artists, philosophers, and educators, political figures and journalists in the battle for perestroika. It is for precisely this reason that I expect the party conference to eliminate all barriers to true creative work, since the way life was organized during the period of stagnation tied the hands of those who wanted to work honorably in the name of the victory of socialism. I firmly believe that the time has come when each Communist will begin to place more trust in his own mind, heart, and conscience, in his life and in his work. Once again I want to emphasize in the name of the Latvian artistic intelligentsia, that in today's political environment every speech against the initiative and chosen course of M.S. Gorbachev will be considered to be an attack on socialism, internationalism, on the national rights of peoples and on each individual person.

#### Adyl Yakubov: "I Live In My People"

Tashkent. The question of how one or another people living in friendship with other large and small peoples, and linked to them with indissoluble spiritual bonds, how this people retains its uniqueness, its language, cherished melodies and songs, customs and mores—this is a question that should concern every writer.

When reading the Theses of the XIXth Party Conference, which with justifiable pride note the outstanding results of pursuit of Lenin's national policies in the 70 years after the October Revolution, my attention was caught by the following words: "At the present time, the economic, cultural, and productive potential of each Soviet republic and autonomous region has increased immeasurably, and legitimate growth in national self-consciousness has occurred."

These are notable words! After all, not very long ago, certain of our ideologues viewed this phenomenon virtually with condemnation, seeing in the growth of interest of peoples in their own historical past and in the cultural treasures produced by the creative genius of their forebears, a "manifestation of nationalism." But the Theses call this process legitimate. An approach truly worthy of Lenin!

Yes, I have been reading the Theses, especially the spot where it says that "we are far from indifferent not only to the goals and values of socialism, but also the means by which they are achieved, the human price which has to be paid for them. Rehabilitation of those who in the past fell victim to unjustified political accusations, and lawlessness is our party and civic duty." Reading and rereading these words, permeated with the deepest love for humanity and humanism, more than once, I recalled

our outstanding cultural figures who were victims of endless exaggerations and the crudest violations of the law. Even the brilliant works of oral folk traditions were subjected to revision during those times.

I remember, at the beginning of the 50s, one bureaucrat, who was then enjoying a meteoric career as a Komsomol leader, published an article in the central press, which accused our beloved folk epic "Alpamysh" of national limitations. And then the fun began! There were endless discussions, demagogic attacks and criticisms. And of whom? Of the folk tale tellers who had painstakingly passed down this great work, created by the genius of our people, to the present day. As a result of, merciless, at times pitiless attacks, for a long period the beautiful epic "Alpamysh" disappeared from the shelves of libraries and book stores.

It is true that all this took place during the period of the cult of personality. But how can you explain the fact that today something similar is occurring with the great creation of the Kirghiz people "Manas"? No, stagnation and routine, and a thoroughly antiscientific approach to the complex phenomena of inter-ethnic relationships, and to national cultural treasures have still not been vanquished.

It is well known that a vast number of talented artists ecstatically greeted the revolution, and became its bards and propagandists. But among those who entered literature during the 20s there were also some who did not immediately understand the enormous emancipating mission of the revolution with respect to oppressed people. Among these are Chulpan and Fitrat. Writers of great talent, they eventually came to understand the great role of Soviet power in the difficult task of freeing the peoples of Central Asia. At one moment they floundered in the fetters of nationalistic ideas, and at the next they were able to break away from them. And when they broke away, they created masterpieces that, even today, win over the reader with their extraordinary freshness, unique talent, and heartfelt ideas.

The works of Chulpan and Fitrat created in the last decades of their lives and free of the burden of previous years are undisputed treasures of our literature. And yet, it took 20 years to demonstrate this self-evident truth (repressed in 1937, the works were rehabilitated in 1958.) Why? Because here (I have in mind our republic in particular) we have still not overcome the old, dogmatic approach to national culture, the history of the people as a whole, and our cultural legacy in particular. The new approach to these questions, born of perestroika and glasnost, is having difficulty coming into its own. Here are the bitter fruits of the long period of stagnation, the period of Rashidov's influence. Things came to such a pass that we were forbidden to speak in our native language from the high tribunals, people were criticized for honoring the memory of deceased family

and friends, as if paying respects to someone close to you who has left this world is not the duty of every respectable person. And what about the ban on wearing skull caps or our national dress?

Just like the fish lives in water, the writer lives in his people, his language, his history, and culture. Proving this truth does not require special arguments. But it happened here that, even though the major law of the land, the Constitution, had long contained this provision, this law was not always obeyed in real life. And one would think that the right of national and ethnic groups to freedom of choice of language should be guaranteed by law.

The last point I want to make is that the law should contain the exact definition of internationalism, nationalism, and chauvinism. And everyone who evaluates natural love for cultural figures and ones people as a manifestation of nationalism must be punished, just like any real nationalist or chauvinist. I hope that these problems will not be ignored during the forthcoming party conference.

9286

**Mikhaylov Views Reform in Creative Unions**  
*18000522 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian, 25 Jun 88 p 7*

[Article by A. Mikhaylov, delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference: "Do We Allow 'the Suppression of the Subject?'" ]

[Text] On the threshold of the 19th Party Conference, it is necessary to look back and to draw some preliminary conclusions. After the 27th CPSU Congress, the congresses of the creative unions took place. The greatest public resonance was called forth by the congress of the cinematographers, which through a resolute act replaced the entire leadership of their union. The Union of Theater Workers was created, which there and then joined in the implementation of theater reform. 2 years ago the 18th Congress of Writers took place. The discussion at this congress had a stormy character, it proved to be impossible to manage without sharp words between a number of opponents, but the overwhelming of the speeches were indicative of a sincere aspiration of the writers to turn over a new leaf in their life and work and to help in restructuring in word and deed.

What changes have taken place during this time in the life of the creative unions, has the atmosphere of the life of the writer and artist changed, and how? Naturally, I will speak more about literature, about what is taking place in the Union of Writers, although I am taking aim at more.

The elections of the leading organs, the board, and the auditing commission at the congress, and then the secretariat as well, proceeded in a more democratic fashion

than at the preceding congresses, and did not reveal particular difficulty, but the agreement—I am convinced—was attained at the cost of compromise: The composition of the board and the auditing commission included an overwhelming majority of congress delegates. Who, in that case, could make any claims, submit additions, changes. . . .

Here a word in general about the structure of the organs of the creative unions, including the Writers' Union, is in order—they are extremely inflated and immobile. The size of the union has increased during the past 15 to 20 years, it now comes to approximately 10,000 members. But the staff of the leading organs is growing at a threatening rate. At the last USSR Writers' Congress, 323 writers were elected to the board, 128 to the auditing commission, and 65 to the secretariat. The staff of the board of the RSFSR Writers' Union includes 231, the auditing commission—105, and the secretariat—51 people. In the Moscow organization of writers, the staff of the board comes to 246, of the auditing commission—to 110, and the secretariat—to 46 people. After this, it is not so simple to find here, in Moscow, a writer who would not be a secretary, a member of the board or the auditing commission in some link. The same is observed in the republic organs of the union.

The top of the hierarchy of the writers is the bureau—the fruit of the "creative" efforts of the delegates of the last congress, a certain Areopagus of eight people, which, according to the plan, must solve the most important questions and, one can say, determine the fate of literary development. There were rumors that during these two years the bureau met once or twice, but its members throw up their arms in bewilderment, not knowing what they are to do, how and where to lead our literature. . . .

I believe that it is not necessary to convince anyone especially that very many in this entire immense ruling corps, if not the majority, treat their position as one which carries prestige within the union, but by no means as one which obligates them to any activity. They even may not turn up at plenums and sessions of the secretariat, it is important to them to be reckoned, to be included. And just try not to elect such a "figure" the next time, whether to the board or to the secretariat! A scandal!

A. Shiropayev and S. Naumov, who not long ago (7 June) wrote in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, in general give a correct assessment of the present hierarchy within the creative unions that has become decrepit. It seems to me that the work within the unions should be conducted on the basis of the community of interests and creative aspirations.

New union statutes are necessary. But what sort? A. Shiropayev and S. Naumov write: "The true artist is always an enigma, his creativity is always a secret." Who will argue with this? But further: "What secret do you sense when reading the statutes of our unions? Not any

secrets at all. . . ." It is precisely in the statutes that "secrets" are not necessary and even harmful. Here there must be utmost clearness and accuracy.

The draft for a new statute is being developed for the next congress. The necessity of its broad, open discussion is evident, for this reason it is necessary that the draft be published in the literary press. It seems to me that the new statute should stipulate some reasonable norms of representation, in the leading organs, of the total number of members of the USSR Writers' Union and the republic unions, after having sharply reduced their present size. You see, it is not the structure of the leadership in the union that is "at fault," but how it is formed and how it operates, for this reason it is necessary to establish maximum terms for remaining in the post of leaders of the unions (working secretaries) of no more than 10 years. It is necessary to do the same thing with respect to the position of chief editors of the literary and artistic journals, newspapers and other publications of the Union of Writers. This is abnormal, this does not occur anywhere in the Soviet and party press that one and the same person head up a journal or newspaper for the duration of 20, even 25 and 30 years. Even if he be a Solomon, he cannot but exhaust himself in the same work.

And if I have already begun to talk about the new statute, about the prospects, and about the necessity to resolutely remove the layers of the former bureaucratic system, then I speak about the necessity of granting the Moscow writer's organization republic status. This is also abnormal when the organization of the capital, which numbers 2,000 members (significantly more than in any republic union) is put in the position of a local (oblast) branch of the RSFSR Writers' Union, does not have its own publishing house and its subscription weekly. And even until recently did not have the right to make the final decision concerning the acceptance into membership of the union, rights which all republic unions have.

All of these questions must be decided at the writers' congress, must be secured in the statute, but there are also those which can and should be solved without waiting for the congress. I have in mind the creation of a publishing house and a journal. The Moscow writers have deserved to have, like all of their colleagues in the union and autonomous republics, their own publishing house, to have even if only one printed organ besides the house organ MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR.

Having raised the question concerning what has been and is being done in the Writers' Union after the congress, I digressed to its structure, but this is not idle talk; its unwieldiness and its nondimensional character are a hindrance to effective work in all links—from the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union and below. Having spent a year in the position of working secretary of the USSR Writers' Union, I saw and now see with

what difficulty and with what endless delays the plenums of the board are prepared. The same can be said about the RSFSR Writers' Union and the Moscow writers' organization.

Nevertheless, the work is proceeding, of course, and a great deal has changed in the Writers' Union. It is from some representatives of the other creative unions that from time to time darts of irony come flying that are aimed at the writers. Not so long ago, I watched a television dialogue between the deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography and a well-known film producer. They precisely tried to sum up what happened, what was done after the congress of the cinematographers, which promised so much, and both agreed: The results are exceedingly modest. And many, I believe, will agree with this. But one of the interlocutors for some reason needed to remember about the Congress of the Writers: Here, they said, the writers talked at the congress and dispersed. It was incomprehensible in this reproach what the person doing the talking wanted from the writers, but, judging by the context of the dialogue, something similar to what happened at the Congress of the Cinematographers. But perhaps we will still have to wait to see where and what results will be found to be more distinct?

Similar or more direct darts of criticism come flying to the Writers' Union also from the theater workers. For some reason, all know more about others than about themselves. But, you see, it is not enough to create a creative union and to call it a union of figures. Incidentally, the mass designation of oneself as figures is a unique case in world culture; previously it was thought that it is necessary to become a figure, but this, as is well known, is something in which only a few and only infrequently succeed. Meanwhile the press abounds in articles to the effect that the past theater season and theater reform, to put it mildly, have not brought outstanding successes.

The altercation between the creative unions on the level of mutual reproaches is sterile, all of us should look, above all, into their own garden, to pull out the weeds from the vegetable patches and to pamper the young growth and, of course, to learn from one another, to learn from those who are successful in restructuring their inner life, and in the creative foundation we are inseparably linked with film and theater, without literature there is neither the one nor the other.

Of course, we are not satisfied with what has been done and is being done to restructure, but we are not idle. The word of the writer today sounds from the pages of all newspapers and journals, on the radio and television, writers are speaking out on questions of politics, economics, law, ecology, culture, sovereignty of the people, history, the election system. . . . A number of outstanding writers have laid aside the manuscripts of novels in order, through the passionate voice of journalism, to join in the solution of the most important questions of

contemporary development and the questions of restructuring. And on the basis of these statements concrete decisions of local authorities, ministries, and even the government are made, they form public opinion. This is useful and necessary work for the benefit of the renewal of our life.

And what about the novels, stories, plays and poems—where are they, reflecting our present day and the processes that are taking place in society? I would not want to be trite, but, apparently, we must nevertheless remind the impatient readers that books are written, not for the short term, that they require not a simple sum of knowledge about a subject, events, and phenomena, but difficult and at times agonizing inner work, the penetration into the moral and philosophical essence of that segment of life which the writer shows.

There always have been and now are precocious and time-serving works, there are works which are foisted on the reader, but do not have a remote relationship to literature. Once even something like an All-Union Readers' Conference was held on the at that time well-known trilogy "Malaya zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina," producers with a developed scent for the market put it on in the theater, the man whose name stood on the title page of this work was crowned with the highest literary prize, and some writers(!) praised its merits, but, you see, it did not become a work of art as a result of this. And the man who had put his name on the title page of this simple journalistic odd job, without batting an eye, accepted the symbol of highest literary distinction in the same way in which he accepted the symbol of military distinction a decade after the conclusion of the war. The veterans alone were surprised by the shamelessness of this self-glorification, but the entourage applauded the superhero.

Did this example not prove to be infectious for the men of letters and men of art as well, was it not from here that such an open pursuit of prizes, awards, and titles, lowering the dignity of the artist, began? And most unfortunately, the inertia of this pursuit is operative even today. I personally have to encounter this, writers come to plead to be decorated with orders or to be presented for a State Prize. In some union republics, they literally solicit for the title of national writer.

I strain the imagination, I try to imagine Chekhov or Blok pleading for orders and prizes for themselves. . . . Only closer to us: Akhmatova, Pasternak, Mayakovsky, Bulgakov, Platonov, Tvardovsky. . . . I realize that this is impossible. And is the declaration of a writer or artist as "national" on the basis of a decree of the supreme power really justified? They do not become "national" on the basis of someone's will. This is not even a title, this is the destiny of creativeness, its existence in the people, its inner peculiarity. In short, this is not from power, but, as they used to say, from God.

And literature has, indeed, made its contribution to restructuring, to put it more precisely, it has created the prerequisites. Let us remember the names of the writers whose books, written during the difficult times of stagnation, are up to now perceived by us as signs of national misfortune, of non-abating anguish for the people. They did not appeal, they shouted about the necessity of changes. I would like to name the names of Fedor Abramov, Viktor Astafyev, Vasilii Belov, Vasilii Shukshin, Chingiz Aytmatov, Vladimir Tendryakov, Nodar Dumbadze, Grant Matevosyan. . . . I could also name the names of remarkable journalists, beginning with Valentin Ovechkin, and writers who honestly and truthfully showed a number of events and aspects of the past war. I did not name the names of the poets who, after the 20th Party Congress, awakened the civic self-consciousness of the people and did not allow it to sink again into the abyss of lack of will.

No, literature did not bend during those years, although not all books written at that time saw the light of day. And we now read with a grateful feeling for the authors the novels which were published: Aleksandr Bek's "New Appointment," Vladimir Dudintsev's "White Clothes," and Anatoli Rybakov's "Children of the Arbat." I named the most famous. It was a shaken man who created Vasilii Grossman's "Life and Fate," which has seen the light of day only 30 years after it was written. A discussion of its peculiarities purely as a novel still lies ahead, probably they are not irreproachable, but your heart shudders more than once when before you there unfold the pictures of the human and national tragedy of the destruction of hundreds and thousands of people—this terrible genocide, this cold-blooded, unprecedented, fanatical cruelty which cannot be explained by reason. . . .

I also want to talk about the fact that the atmosphere of the inner life of literature has changed. The plenums of the board of the USSR Writers' Union after the congress, in spite of the agonizingly difficult preparation, went off in a vivid, interesting, and critical manner as never before during the last years. The plenums of the councils on prose, poetry, drama, criticism and journalism also come off in an interesting manner and still closer to the concrete phenomena of literature. . . . And nevertheless some people look apprehensively how, where, and by whom some kind of border would be overstepped, and which one is unknown. Was it worthwhile for G. Kunitsyn to deliver an interesting and, of course, not indisputable report at the council on criticism on the method of Soviet literature, when there and then frightened rejoinders were heard in the secretariat: Who gave permission? Why? Investigate! Make a report! But practically nobody came out in an open argument.

But, apparently, there will still be such a thing.

In January of this year, a general meeting was held for the first time in the Moscow organization of writers—not a protocol meeting, a meeting without a major

speech, without an honorary presidium, and without a resolution. This was a discussion about literature ("A Look at Literature"—it said in the agenda). The large and small halls and the foyer of the Central House of Writers, equipped with radio, were filled. On the rostrum of the meeting, as at the past plenum a month later, as a rule, not staff speakers, heroes and laureates appeared, but all who wanted to speak and who had something to say and who in general rarely are awarded the honor or are not at all awarded the honor to speak from such a rostrum since as in former times the speakers usually were assigned ahead of time. And this was an interesting and exacting discussion and dispute which, of course, did not manage without a slight quarrel. But on a new path not everything goes smoothly. It is important that the discussion was about literature, and this the participants in the meeting took as a good sign. But then if you don't see someone at the meetings and plenums of the writers of Moscow, it is the leaders of the union (with the exception of S. Mikhalkov).

Amidst the writers in all republics, intense intellectual and creative work is under way, evident are attempts to democratize and stir up literary life, to gain an understanding of the present-day economy and our literary legacy. Here everything is not so simple, we have felt this here, too, in Moscow. The discussion of Mayakovsky, conducted by the house organ MOSKOVSKIY KHU-DOZHNIK, graphically showed that some who like to fish in troubled waters are searching for opportunities to satisfy their ambitions, slandering our cultural heritage, raising their hands against Mayakovsky, Gorki, Sholokhov. . . . Their half-baked knowledge, and to put it more precisely, their ignorance in historical and literary questions gives them away.

There were attempts to represent the activity of A. V. Lunacharskiy in a false light. One must give SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA their due among the publications which showed what an enormous role this outstanding figure of Russian culture played in its formation, in the protection and preservation of the monuments of the old days, libraries, museums, and temples.

The years of stagnation have left a deep trace in the psychology of many of us, and with this we constantly have to come into conflict. It seems to me that this was especially shown by the session of the secretariat of the board at which the activity of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA was discussed. The chief organ of the Writers' Union for years and even for decades remained outside of criticism and, as it were, already outside the union. But during the past year and a half critical rejoinders have been heard against the paper. They have called forth an extremely nervous reaction of its management. Many times the discussion of the paper in the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union was set and postponed. Finally it took place. It is possible that I am inviting fire on my head, but I will say at once that I remained not simply in the minority, but the only secretary who did

not vote for the decree that was adopted at the session. The issue, of course, is not the decree, it is the same kind of decree that was adopted 10 years ago, only with the addition of words about restructuring and glasnost. The issue is the tone and direction which was taken by the discussion. And also the fact that, as it were, not a literary paper was discussed, but a socio-political paper, for in many statements its chief content, emphasized in its name, was simply ignored. There was talk about the real, and in some cases strongly exaggerated (especially in our time!), merits of the "non-literary" part of the paper.

I acknowledge that I felt uncomfortable when hearing that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, already long before restructuring, prepared it and was, as it were, the standard-bearer of progress during the years of stagnation, that this is in general "the best newspaper in the world." But how is that, I thought, this is the chief paper of the Writers' Union, it sets the tone in the assessment of the literary situation and the concrete phenomena of literature. And apropos of this, with an obvious allusion to the literary hierarchy, the recommendation was made at the 27th Party Congress "to shake off the complacency and servility that are corroding healthy morality, remembering that criticism is a public matter, and not a sphere for servicing the pride and ambitions of authors."

We will remember that it was precisely during those times that inflated literary reputations were created. Who was involved in this? Perhaps the house organ MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR? Or some other publications? Yes, they were involved. But it was LITERATURNAYA GAZETA which strongly held first place, it set the tone, it determined the weather, it was the real "standard-bearer." But this, naturally, they do not remember when they declare LITERATURNAYA GAZETA to be instigator of restructuring. They make it appear as if all of this, as it were, did not happen.

And I also felt uncomfortable when hearing how respected writers, who, sensibly at times, had taken LITERATURNAYA GAZETA to task for "individual shortcomings" silently accepted—and thus agreed with them—all the epithets concerning its pre-restructuring and present-day leadership in the Soviet and world press.

Alas, we do not always quickly overcome the inertia of many approaches and the inertia of thinking and free ourselves of psychological retardation and stereotypes. Not only in literary life. But restructuring needs tempo, dynamic, it is not by chance equated with a revolution. In the spiritual sphere, it is already impossible not to react to the voice of the public about the return of the old historic names to the overwhelming majority of cities, squares and streets. It is sad and ridiculous when large cities, like estates under Catherine, were given out (sometimes during their lifetime!) to statesmen and pilots, even if in the majority of cases to really outstanding people.

About another thing. At one time we had several academic theaters in our country. Actors and producers, singers and conductors traveled there to study. Spectators dreamed about being in the Bolshoi, the Maly, or the Arts theaters even if only once in their life. But now—how many of them are there, academic theaters?! Not only theaters, but also other collectives of artists. . . . The same provincialism and pursuit of ambition at a time when some academic theaters have already long ago alienated their spectators, their auditoria are empty. . . .

People can say to me that there is no need to hurry with all this, that there are more important things. And nevertheless it is impossible to put off until tomorrow what can be done today, for today all changes that improve the moral climate and cleanse the spiritual atmosphere from the anomalies of the past accrue to the benefit of restructuring. Popular sovereignty presupposes the active creativity of the masses. Today we witness of how this decisive factor of any renewal of life increasingly makes itself felt. A powerful impulse and to a certain degree the guarantee of the dynamic development of restructuring is glasnost, that is the constant control over the activity of all organs of power, the administration from top to bottom, and complete freedom of discussions. This is what all of us expect from the forthcoming party conference, this we must encourage and develop in the practice of the work of the creative unions.

The question of restructuring and its methods and of our attitude to the mistakes and tragedies of the past—this is a question of conscience. If we once again, as this happened after the 20th Party Congress, allow “the suppression of the subject”, if we let everything disappear in the sand, we diminish our civic and human dignity as a people, as a nation, as a power, we prove to be unworthy of those who accomplished the revolution and opened to the masses of workers the possibility for the creation of a new life, who defended our Homeland in a bloody fight with fascism, not for life but for death.

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### **Repression of Theater Director Meyerhold Recalled**

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[Article by Konstantin Rudnitskiy under heading “From Contemporary History”: “The Unmaking of a Theater”]

[Text]

### **“All Right, I’ll Take It”**

The unpublished autobiographical notes of Sergey Eisenstein include a brief entry under the mysterious heading, “Treasure.” It’s hard to understand what is meant, what treasure? Eisenstein describes an abandoned village of summer houses, a dusty highway, a village store, a

factory which is bombed on some nights. He mentions soldiers “quartered in empty dachas, unrolling barbed wire and field telephone reels.” Apparently it is wartime. He goes on to describe a quiet country road where “the dachas are especially lifeless, paths are uncleared, flowers untended.” At one of these dachas Eisenstein meets “a girl with purple rings under her eyes” who shows him “the thing I had come for.” What is it? He mentions “lifeless purple folders” and “stacks of papers” which can be reached “only by prying off several boards” and squeezing into “a space between the gabled roof and pantry ceiling.” It isn’t clear why the world-famous film director had to squeeze into some kind of cubby-hole, nor what those folders were, nor what the papers were about. The entry, made by Eisenstein September 10, 1944, reads like a cryptogram.

Let us decipher it: the dacha (which survives to this day) is located not far from Moscow in Gorenki village, near Balashikha; the girl he met was Tatyana Sergeyevna Yesenina, daughter of the poet and step-daughter of Meyerhold; the papers were Meyerhold’s. The “Treasure” was his, the archive of Vsevolod Emilyevich Meyerhold. It included letters from Chekhov, Stanislavskiy, Blok, Komissarzhevskaya, Bryusov, Andrey Belyy, Vakhtangov, Mayakovskiy, Krupskaya, Lunacharskiy, Gordon Kreg, Mikhail Chekhov, Asafyev, Ehrenburg, Petrov-Vodkin, Chagal, Olesha, Tairov, Erdman, Vishnevskiy, Selvinskiy, and Eisenstein himself. There were notes on Meyerhold’s rehearsals, his plans as a director, stenograms of interviews and speeches, notebooks, photographs...

Eisenstein was certainly right: he had before him a priceless treasure-trove. Each and every one of those documents was of enormous value for the history of Russian culture. But each and any of those documents could also have been used as a sinister piece of evidence against the person who had preserved them. They could provide irrefutable proof of links with an “enemy of the people” who had been executed in 1940. They could bring a charge under Article 58, fraught with jail, hard labor, death.

That is why Eisenstein did not mention the name of Meyerhold. In fact, the entry contains no names at all. Eisenstein knew that he was by no means immune from a search or arrest. He knew quite well that by accepting the “treasure” he was risking his life.

Nevertheless, when Tatyana Yesenina phoned Eisenstein and then came to his house to say that Meyerhold’s archive was in jeopardy, that there was no place to hide it, he listened to her in silence, asking no questions. When she finished “his cold eyes flashed and he said without hesitation:

“‘All right, I’ll take it. My dacha is in a safe place, and there’s enough space there to hide it.’”

How often, when recalling the years of Stalinist repression, we speak bitterly of burned and irretrievably lost manuscripts... How often, with mixed feelings of shame and compassion, we name those who felt compelled to dissemble at the time. Notably Meyerhold's actors, who hastened to disassociate themselves from their teacher even before he had vanished into the Lubyanka prison, the writers and artists who publically proclaimed their heartfelt approval of the decision to close down Meyerhold's theater, because it was "alienated from the people." And how rarely do we gratefully mention the names of the few people who dared, like Eisenstein, to utter the words, "All right, I'll take it."

Many years later, in the latter 1950s, as I was starting work on a biography of Meyerhold, I, hardly daring to hope to find anything, went to the Bibliographical Office of the All-Union Theatrical Society. I knew only too well how thoroughly and completely everything that could to the slightest degree be associated with "enemies of the people" was destroyed. Two obliging women, Irina Vasilyevna Mitrofanova and Irina Vyacheslavovna Panova, patiently heard me out. Then one of them said with a sly smile,

"Could you move that cupboard?"

Behind the cupboard, along the wall, under years-old layers of dust, lay fat folders containing carefully assembled newspaper clippings of reviews of plays staged by Meyerhold's theater, his articles, talks, interviews. I gasped.

"You saved all this?"

Irina Vyacheslavovna answered with a jocose question:

"Perhaps they fell behind the cupboard accidentally?"

Of course they could have! They could have slid behind it and lain there for two whole decades. But at what risk to those two modest women! And to what risks had Aleksandr Vilyamovich Fevral'skiy, erstwhile literary manager of the Meyerhold Theater, exposed himself by keeping stacks of Meyerhold materials all those years in a tiny room of a large communal apartment! Or actor Aleksey Alekseyevich Temerin, who had lovingly photographed Meyerhold's performances and hidden hundreds of glass-plate negatives depicting the Master's mise en scenes in his home. Or writer Aleksandr Konstantinovich Gladkov, twice searched and twice arrested, but who nevertheless saved notes of so many interesting talks with Meyerhold!

Almost all we now know of Meyerhold's art has reached us thanks to the fortitude and personal courage of those people, especially Sergey Mikhaylovich Eisenstein, because the archive taken over by him contained essentially the very kernel of the Master's theatrical heritage.

But it is also important to tell the story of the archive before it fell into Eisenstein's hands, and about the girl who handed the "treasure" over to him.

### Nineteen Thirty-Six

The papers which Meyerhold had accumulated over almost four decades of theater work had been stored away haphazardly, in various boxes, desks and cupboards. In 1935, Yelena Aleksandrovna Aleksandrova, Vsevolod Emilyevich's taciturn personal secretary, appeared in his apartment in Bryusov Street. She set about putting the archive in order. She filed papers away in strictly chronological order, supplying each folder with a list of its contents. Then she would place the folder on one of the shelves attached to the walls of the entrance lobby. The shelves were tightly closed, specially made for that purpose. Aleksandrova's painstaking work continued for several years. Those were difficult, nerve-racking years for Meyerhold's theater.

The GOSTIM (State Theater imeni Meyerhold) company left its cradle, the former Zon Theater, where the sensational premieres of "Dawns," "Mystery-Bouffe," "The Magnanimous Cuckold," "The Forest," "The Mandate," "The Inspector-General," and "Woe from Wit" had played. From 1931 Meyerhold's actors performed in the building in Tverskaya Street which now houses the Theater imeni Yermolova. In place of the old, cramped, dilapidated building in Sadovo-Triumfal'naya Street it was decided to build a new theater, the largest in Moscow, equipped with state-of-the-art stage machinery. Young architects M. Barkhin and S. Vakhtangov designed a hall with 3,000 seats, an open, arena-like stage, and a glass ceiling. Newspaper reporters enthusiastically described the future "glass-and-concrete skyscraper." In the new theater Meyerhold intended to stage Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and "Othello," Pushkin's "Boris Godunov," "Carmen," after Merime, and stage adaptations of I. Babel and N. Erdman. He also—not accidentally—entertained the notion of staging a new performance of Mayakovskiy's "Magical Comedy," "The Bedbug."

The thing is that on 5 December 1935 PRAVDA first published I. V. Stalin's comment that "Mayakovskiy was and remains the most talented poet of our Soviet epoch. Indifference to his memory and his work is a crime." Meyerhold was greatly inspired by those words, because they could, in a way, refer to him as well: Everyone knew that he and Mayakovskiy held similar views on creativity. Since the very first days after the October revolution the theater director and the poet had spoken out as partners and allies. Meyerhold had staged "Mystery-Bouffe" twice, and he directed the first performances of "The Bedbug" and "The Bath-House." Moreover, shortly before his last premiere Mayakovskiy had remarked that he intended "to make the boards a forum," adding, "That is why I gave 'The Bath-House' to



the most effective, the most publicistic person: Meyerhold." In early 1930, Mayakovskiy read his just-written poem, "With Full Voice," at Meyerhold's home

Following the poet's tragic death, his next-of-kin and closest friends (notably, Nikolay Aseyev) requested that the urn with Mayakovskiy's ashes be entombed in a wall in Meyerhold's theater. Meyerhold himself also voiced the wish that "the new theater building have some place in memory of V. I. Mayakovskiy. His next-of-kin," Meyerhold explained, "would like the urn with his ashes to be placed within the theater. We are thinking whether it would be possible to have a wall that would incorporate a monument." Already in 1934, architect A. V. Shchusev created a design of the facade of the GOSTIM Theater according to which the tower of the "glass-concrete skyscraper" would be topped by a statue of the "agitator, big-mouth, leader."

Among the numerous ideas and hopes associated with the construction of the new theater was one, never mentioned out loud, but of great concern. The old GOSTIM building had no isolated, specially equipped government loge with a separate entrance. For that reason Stalin had never attended a Meyerhold performance since 1927 when, as luck would have it, he saw one of Meyerhold's worst productions, play by Rodion Akulshin called "Window to the Village." Meyerhold was unable to show Stalin his new work, but since Stalin's views on all questions of literature and the arts had already acquired decisive significance, Meyerhold, naturally, wanted to show off his achievements.

Meyerhold knew that Stalin never forgot anything. Now the director was tormented by a long-ago unfortunate gesture of his: When he had staged the play, "Land Upreared," to mark the 5th anniversary of the Red Army the theater posters and programs bore the dedication: "To the Red Army and to Lev Trotskiy, first Red Armyman of the RSFSR, Vesvolod Meyerhold dedicates his work." Back in 1923 there was nothing at all remarkable about such a dedication, but in the 1930s it was too terrible to think of. Would his blunder ever be forgiven? That was what tormented Meyerhold. He hoped that when the new theater was built Stalin would appear in the government loge and see for himself that the first communist theater director was guiding his theater along the right road. The fact that Meyerhold was staging a play by his friend and associate Mayakovskiy would prove that irrefutably.

This optimism was fueled by another fortunate event: On January 17, 1936, P. M. Kerzhentsev was appointed chairman of the recently formed Committee for Art Affairs of the Council of People's Commissars. Meyerhold, who had met Kerzhentsev in 1925 when the latter was Soviet ambassador to Italy, regarded him as an open-minded and free-thinking man. Subsequently Kerzhentsev and his wife frequently visited with Meyerhold and Raykh, once in the company of People's

Commissar M. M. Litvinov. They would discuss art, and they usually shared common views. Meyerhold wanted to think that Kerzhentsev would support his initiatives.

Some day historians will, hopefully, tell us what instructions Kerzhentsev received, and from whom, when he assumed his high position.

But one thing is already obvious: contrary to Meyerhold's expectations, those instructions bode him no good. His joy was unfounded.

One day, addressing his actors in connection with an impending revival of "The Bedbug," the Master said: "In 1929, when the play was first staged, the contours of the future still lacked the remarkable concrete qualities they have acquired today. Now," Meyerhold declared, "after two completed five-year plans, when life has surpassed our boldest dreams, the theater has every opportunity too give the most concrete expression to characters embodying the future." Meyerhold envisaged this "most concrete expression" with his customary boldness of vision: "For example, the action stops and we invite Stakhanov in person, who delivers a brief address. We will show real, living people." When the director voiced his ideas on 19 January 1936 the actors responded with applause. But just ten days later the excitement subsided. The company cowered, alarmed and apprehensive.

For on January 28, PRAVDA came out with an editorial article (i.e., a "directive" which no one dared challenge) entitled "Chaos Instead of Music." It reviewed Dmitri Shostakovich's opera, "Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk," which had just been staged by the Bolshoy Theater. The paper exposed "ultra-leftist art" which, it claimed, "generally rejects simplicity, realism, clarity of characters and the natural sound of words in the theater." All of which meant neither more nor less than "transferring the most negative aspects of 'Meyerholdism' to the opera, to music."

The PRAVDA editorial could well have reminded Meyerhold of Mayakovskiy's "The Bath-House," in which Pobedonosikov, "on behalf of all workers and peasants," declares, "You must caress my ear, not jar it"; in which Mezalyansova demands that art should reflect "beautiful life," "beautiful creatures on beautiful landscapes"; in which, finally, one Ivan Ivanovich, a legislator of tastes, demands, "Make beauty for us! The Bolshoy Theater constantly makes beauty for us!"

But now the Bolshoy had let the people down! There was no beauty but, on the contrary, the paper lamented, "fragments of melody disappear in clamor, jangling and screeching," the music "quacks, grunts, puffs, gasps," love scenes are presented "in the most vulgar form," "in a coarse, naturalistic style..."



Meyerhold had been one of the first to appreciate the young Shostakovich's genius. He knew the opera and admired it greatly. But he also knew that there was no arguing with PRAVDA and that the term "Meyerholdism" had not appeared in the policy-making article by accident. In the 1930s and 1940s such published expressions had the searing heat of a political branding iron. The stench of burned meat was in the air. The director's enemies rubbed their hands gleefully: At last Meyerhold had been pilloried with an appropriate label!

A week later PRAVDA carried another editorial, this one entitled "Balletic Affectation." Now scorn was heaped on Shostakovich's ballet, "The Bright Brook." This was followed by a so-called "debate on formalism and naturalism in art." It went on for a whole year, but actually it was no debate at all. It was a crude dressing down of the most diverse Soviet artists. The first to be "debated," in mid February, were, naturally, musicians; they were followed towards the end of the month by cinematographers and architects; then, in March, came the turn of writers and theatrical workers, and so on. Moreover, the people attacked were invariably the most gifted, regardless of their actual creative positions. The labels of "formalist" or "naturalist" were attached, for example, to A. Deyneka, S. Gerasimov, V. Favorskiy, A. Lentulov, A. Tyshler, the unassuming theater portrait painter A. Fonvizin, and even V. Konashevich, illustrator of Korney Chukovsky's fairy-tales!

As for the theater, it was so simple. PRAVDA's prompt was heard by everyone, and only a stick-in-the-mud did not join the bandwagon to denounce "Meyerholdism."

Meyerhold fought back as best he could, striving to ward off the blows, not only from himself, but from Shostakovich as well. On March 14, he spoke in Leningrad on "Meyerhold Against Meyerholdism." He bravely praised "Shostakovich's fine work," saying that the composer had, supposedly, been let down by poor librettists and bad "scenarios": "We only need to support this artist," who is capable "of being a thinker in music." Meyerhold then went on to castigate those who aped him mindlessly and with heavy heart conceded his own mistakes. "In this," the newspaper report drily noted, "Meyerhold was not sufficiently self-critical."

On March 26, Meyerhold spoke on the same subject in Moscow. He was more self-critical. He made no mention of Shostakovich. He castigated—quite groundlessly—Tairov. He sharply objected to accusations addressed against him by N. Okhlopkov, S. Radlov and V. Pashennaya. But most important, he ventured to declare that, in a work of art, form and content constituted an inseparable unity and that, when "an artist is enthralled by form it breathes and pulsates with deep content." In the atmosphere of the time those words were blasphemous indeed.

Meyerhold clearly underestimated the danger he was in and, apparently, tended to overrate his own authority. He kept insisting that it was necessary to work intensively in the experimental field, that an artist had the right to seek, to prove, to go to extremes. Those, he said, who thought that salvation lay in the unruffled "golden mean" were profoundly mistaken. That, he said, was "certainly not the case."

The newspaper report, it goes without saying, demagogically distorted his words. "It would seem—and this created an oppressive impression on the audience—that one of our leading directors has rejected work on major revolutionary performances, preferring instead to retreat into the narrow shell of his puny theater, which works in purely laboratory fashion..."

Soon Meyerhold was given to understand in no uncertain terms that he was no longer regarded as a "leading director." Tatyana Sergeyevna Yesenina would remember all her life the day when her brother Kostya, a future Soviet soccer expert and historian, ran into the room waving a newspaper and announced, "Meyerhold has been deprived of the title of People's Artist!" Meyerhold took the paper from him, glanced at it and objected calmly: "Not at all, I wasn't deprived of anything. Simply, a new title has appeared, and I wasn't given it. That doesn't mean a thing. Titles are given by people, and people can make mistakes."

But of course, he understood at once that the absence of his name in the first list of People's Artists of the USSR (which included Stanislavskiy, Nemirovich-Danchenko, Kachalov, Moskvina, Korchagina-Aleksandrovskaya, Blumental-Tamarina, Shchukin) was a bad omen. Up until September 6, 1936, the most honorific title was that of People's Artist of the Republic, and the first on whom it had been bestowed were Shalyapin, Yermolova and Meyerhold. So Kostya Yesenin was right in a way: Meyerhold had been shunted to the background, into the shadows.

The year was 1936, a time when, in Stalin's words, "Life has become better, life has become more joyous." But to Meyerhold it brought no joy. That year was the first in GOSTIM's history when it did not have a single premiere.

### Catastrophe

Construction of the new theater was dragging out. By 1937 only the outer walls had been built. Meyerhold frequently visited the site, sadly scanning the chaos of "protracted construction" (the term hadn't been invented yet, and the notion of "uncompleted construction" was not yet known). Willy-nilly, the plans of staging "Boris Godunov," "Hamlet," "The Bedbug" had to be pushed back into the indefinite future. Suspension

of rehearsals of "Godunov" was especially painful, as they had been progressing so well and the bold contours of the innovative Pushkin play were taking form in all their striking clarity.

Nevertheless, Meyerhold suspended work on "Boris Godunov" and plunged into Lidiya Seyfullina's play, "Natasha." The action in it takes place in a kolkhoz village, and Zinaida Raykh was to play the heroine. The concluding remark was quite in the spirit of the time: "Ah, what a happy young life!" Despite the upbeat finale, however, the rehearsals progressed with difficulty, barely squeaking along. Everything in "Natasha" ran contrary to the Meyerhold theater: the sluggishness of the unhurried action, the humdrum quality of syrupy renditions of country scenery, the affected local peasant dialect of the characters. Raykh—the Marguerite Gotier of the previous night—felt uncomfortable mouthing the contrived brogue, which stumped not only the actors—Vasiliy Zaychikov, Lev Sverdlin, Nikolay Bogolyubov and others—but Meyerhold himself.

Every now and then he jotted marginal notes on the director's script: "Ask Seyfullina how she pronounces this?", "Ask Seyfullina to change this phrase." Seyfullina would explain, she would change phrases. In the meantime set designers L. Silich and F. Antonov did their utmost in an effort to create a village of incredible beauty on the stage: lush flowering apple-trees, golden haystacks, luxuriant heads of cabbage, abundant sunbeams flooding the cottage floor. Meyerhold admonished the actors exude "serene tranquility": That, supposedly, was what distinguished a person who has "grown from the roots of the earth" from urban folk, what imbued them with an inner sense of "remarkable strength"...

Frankly speaking, Meyerhold's marginal notes on the rehearsals of "Natasha" evoke a feeling of embarrassment. Aleksandr Gladkov, who was present at the rehearsals, recalled: "Meyerhold refused to acknowledge that the play did not inspire him. But he was not cynical in this respect. He assured us he was inspired, and probably tried to convince himself."

Indeed, he tried. But such efforts do not lead to success. With great difficulty the play was brought up to its dress rehearsal. P. M. Kerzhentsev, chairman of the recently established Committee on Arts Affairs, who at the time still made a pretense of wishing to help Meyerhold (there is some indication that it was Kerzhentsev who recommended staging Seyfullina's play), made a show of sorrow and sympathy. In actual fact he was pleased with the failure. For GOSTIM had flunked the performance of a vivifying play about the kolkhoz country, thus placing a powerful argument against Meyerhold in Kerzhentsev's hands. He collected and stored away such arguments, knowing that they could come in handy.

But whereas in his work on "Natasha" Meyerhold had indeed landed in a dead end, the rehearsals of the play "One Life," which he was preparing for the 20th anniversary of the October revolution, were progressing on a

surge of genuine inspiration. Under Meyerhold's direction the play, written by Ye. Gabrilovich after Nikolay Ostrovskiy's novel, "How the Steel was Tempered," was being transformed into a heroic tragedy. The role of Pavka Korchagin was assigned to Yevgeniy Samoylov; Nikolay Bogolyubov played Zhukhray; Syoma was performed by Lev Sverdlin; the Man With the Beard by Vasiliy Zaychikov; the German Officer, by Sergey Martinson. The stage sets were by Vladimir Stenberg, the composer was Gavriil Popov (who wrote the score for the film "Chapayev"). "A truly new revolutionary performance was in the making," Gabrilovich wrote. At the dress rehearsal "a torrent of applause" filled the hall. An enthusiastic Eisenstein rushed into Samoylov's dressing room. "I have just seen," he exclaimed, "genuine revolutionary elan and a real revolutionary on the stage!"

The actors were confident of success. "We knew this would be a turning point, that by staging 'One Life' Meyerhold would regain the party's trust in us": Thus commented Bogolyubov. Martinson: "When we present this performance people will realize that it is shameful to speak of 'Meyerholdism'." Sverdlin: "We have prepared and produced the first real Soviet tragedy: Sombre, bitter, but tempered with faith in the immortal ideas of revolution."

The premiere was scheduled for November 7 and, judging by appearances, held the promise of becoming a major event in Moscow's theatrical life. But this was just what did not suit Kerzhentsev. For PRAVDA had officially denounced "Meyerholdism" as a discredited manifestation of "leftist art," as "gibberish" and "cheap efforts to be clever", as "petty-bourgeois formalistic endeavors." There was no way that Meyerhold could be allowed to refute PRAVDA's verdict so easily.

On 5 November the play was to be shown to the the Central Repertory Committee. Kerzhentsev failed to show up, and without him no one could okay the performance. Embarrassed bureaucrats asked Meyerhold to make some minor changes and show his work after the holiday, on November 10-12. Of course, the delay disappointed him, but he had to accept it. On November 19 another, less successful performance was given. "We were somehow burned-out and played much worse," Sverdlin told me. "The hall was empty, except for twenty or so sleepy individuals. It's hard to work up an enthusiastic performance before such an audience..."

The actors were unable to rouse Kerzhentsev and his entourage from their state of somnolent apathy. After the performance Kerzhentsev declared that the play was pessimistic and required more fundamental changes. He vaguely promised that he would come to see "One Life" again some time in the future.

But Kerzhentsev knew better than anyone that Meyerhold's theater had no future. On December 17, 1937, PRAVDA carried an article by Kerzhentsev, "An Alien Theater." It characterized the performance of "One

Life" as "politically harmful and artistically helpless," steeped solely in an "oppressive pessimistic vein." According to Kerzhentsev, Meyerhold had "employed repeatedly repudiated formalistic and naturalistic devices" to make "the inevitable doom of revolutionary fighters" the main theme of the play.

The article completely negated the entire creative experience of Meyerhold's theater. It made no mention of its performances of Mayakovskiy's plays, but it informed the reader that Meyerhold had "persistently sought to stage the play 'I Want a Baby,' by enemy of the people Tretyakov, which is replete with hostile slander of the Soviet family, and Erdman's 'The Suicide,' which defended the philistine's right to existence and protested against the dictatorship of the proletariat." Not satisfied with all this, Kerzhentsev finished off the stunned reader by recalling that Meyerhold had dedicated "Earth Upreared" to Trotsky, that is, he "sang the praises of a former Menshevik and future heinous agent of fascism." The article concluded with the rhetorical question: "Do Soviet art and Soviet audiences need such a theater?"

The answer to this was a foregone conclusion. The press immediately responded with numerous commentaries. They all angrily demanded that the "alien theater" be closed down. Meanwhile stormy meetings took place in the theater itself. Actors distanced themselves from the disgraced Master. On January 7, 1938, the Committee for Art Affairs issued a decree closing down the State Theater imeni Meyerhold. It was published the following day, but the news that the theater was to be closed spread throughout Moscow that same Saturday, the 7th of January.

That night the theater gave its 725th performance of "Camille". Raykh played Marguerite Gotier, Armand was performed by the young actor M. Sadovskiy, subsequently replaced by M. Tsarev. The hall was, as always for "Camille," full. An oppressive silence hung in the wings and only Meyerhold, behaving as though nothing had happened, puffed a cigarette and peered into one dressing room or another to encourage the performers.

Sadovskiy later remarked that Raykh's performance that night was "superb." He may have been right, because Raykh knew it was her last night, and the horror she felt when she heard of the theater's closing was somehow reflected in her performance, especially during the finale and the scene of Marguerite's death.

But after playing that scene Raykh herself collapsed, and Sadovskiy carried her out into the wings in his arms. Meyerhold rushed towards him, took Raykh from Sadovskiy and laid her on a couch.

Meanwhile the audience was applauding extactically, chanting, "Mey-er-hold! Mey-er-hold! Mey-er-hold!"

Then, when it was announced from the stage that Raykh had taken ill and Meyerhold had left the theater, as Sadovskiy recalls, "something remarkable happened. The entire audience rushed onto the stage... Workers, property-men, firemen, actors linked arms to somehow hold back the crowd. But we were unable to restrain them all and many made their way behind the wings."

The following day nothing remained of the previous night's confusion. The sets for "Camille" were stacked in the back yard and Viktorina Kriger's ballet troupe hastened to take over the premises. The dancers began preparing for that night's performance.

### "The Only Director I Know..."

A week after the closing of Meyerhold's theater, on 15 January 1938, the radio broadcast an event from the TsDRI [Central House of Art Workers] held to celebrate the 75th birthday of K. S. Stanislavskiy. Congratulatory cables were arriving from all over the world: from the icebreaker Sadko in the Arctic Ocean, from Shalyapin in Paris, Dobuzhinskiy in Lithuania, Mikhail Chekhov in New York... Leontyevskiy Street, where Stanislavskiy lived, was renamed Stanislavskiy Street. Konstantin Sergeyevich could hardly keep track of all the cables (there were more than three hundred) and thank people for the honors bestowed on him. The distance between the universally recognized genius and disgraced theater director deprived of his theater seemed enormous and insurmountable.

Performances of the Moscow Art Theater [MKhAT] were frequently attended by members of the Politburo headed by Stalin. Press reviews were invariably enthusiastic. MKhAT's art was regarded as a standard, a showcase of socialist realism. It never occurred to anyone that the theater's founder, Stanislavskiy, could display any interest in his former pupil and current inveterate "formalist," Meyerhold.

Nevertheless, at the very time when newspapers were tumbling over each other to sing the great celebrity's praises and hail the closing down of GOSTIM, Stanislavskiy phoned Meyerhold and invited him to come to his house in Leontyevskiy Street. They conversed from eleven in the morning to six in the evening. One outcome of the long conversation was Stanislavsky's offer to Meyerhold to be director of his opera theater.

Remarkable as the news was, it did not surprise those who knew Stanislavskiy. To be sure, few knew him really closely: in his latter years Stanislavskiy trusted few people. But those whom he did trust remembered that a year earlier, when asked whom he regarded as the best Soviet theater director, Stanislavskiy responded without hesitation:

"The only director I know is Meyerhold."

Kerzhentsev, of course, saw Stanislavskiy's desire to work with Meyerhold as an old man's whim, a stupid caprice. He had intended to dispatch Meyerhold and Raykh to the long-neglected district Theater imeni Lensovet. However, he did not venture to oppose Stanislavskiy. Besides, that January of 1938 his own affairs also seemed to be going rather poorly. Alas, his zeal was not being appreciated.

A. A. Zhdanov, addressing a session of the Supreme Soviet, charged Kerzhentsev with inactivity: Why had he tolerated the pernicious Meyerhold Theater "under his very nose" for so long? After that Kerzhentsev immediately lost his position.

In May 1938, it was reported in the press that Meyerhold had been appointed director of the Stanislavskiy Opera Theater. He took to his new job with ardor and immediately began by negotiating a new opera with none other than Shostakovich. More, he organized a meeting for him with Stanislavskiy. Yuriy Bakhrushin, one of Konstantin Sergeyevich's closest associates at the opera theater, recalled with undisguised wonder: "It turned out that the aging Stanislavskiy and still quite young Shostakovich discussed operatic art in the same terms." Besides Shostakovich, Meyerhold also invited Sergey Prokofyev to the theater: On his suggestion Prokofyev began work on the opera "Semyon Kotko."

However, fate had allotted Meyerhold too little time for all his undertakings. On 7 August 1938 Stanislavskiy died. There was no one else to protect Meyerhold.

One day around that time Pasternak dropped by. Zinaida Raykh asked him:

"Is it true that things are getting better and they're no longer arresting people?"

"No, things are bad. Mandelshtam died recently in a transit prison."

Strangely enough, it was Pasternak, a person so "above all that," with whom Meyerhold discussed whether he should seek a personal meeting with Stalin. T. S. Yesenina writes in her (still unfinished) memoirs, "Boris Leonidovich dissuaded him."

Everything seemed in vain. But still, after all... It would appear that Konstantin Sergeyevich had as it were bequeathed his opera theater to Meyerhold! This was an important commitment. A. I. Nazarov, who had replaced Kerzhentsev, officially approved the appointment of Meyerhold as chief director of the Opera Theater imeni Stanislavskiy. Meyerhold's very first project was to move to the main stage Verdi's opera "Rigoletto," which Stanislavskiy had been rehearsing at his home in Leontyevskiy Street. He then intended to revive "Yevgeniy Onegin," also directed by Stanislavskiy, and present a revised performance of "The Queen of

Spades," which had been running earlier in Leningrad. This was not to come about. The announcement of the "Rigoletto" premiere was the last poster signed by Meyerhold.

Tatyana Yesenina vividly recalls the day of that premiere, 10 March 1939: "There was a feeling in the air that things were settling back into place. Mother was animated, beautiful in her best evening gown. Meyerhold looked like a host receiving guests in his new home." His stay there was brief...

On June 13, 1939, an All-Union Conference of Theater Directors opened in Moscow's Actors House. The opening address was delivered by A. Ya. Vyshinskiy. The very appearance on the rostrum of the principal producer of phony political trials which culminated in the execution of such leading party and government personalities as N. I. Bukharin, G. Ye. Zinovyev, L. B. Kamenev, A. I. Rykov, and many others, was in a way portentous. The conference was chaired by M. B. Khrapchenko, who had just replaced the demoted Nazarov. After reports by A. V. Solodovnikov, A. D. Popov and S. M. Mikhovels, one of the first to take the floor in the debate was Meyerhold. He was greeted, according to the stenographic report, "with stormy applause"; thus did theater directors from all over the country express their sympathy with a great artist whose fate had—as many probably realized—already been sealed. Dispirited, morally crushed, Meyerhold still held out some hope. In vain.

In 1955, Yu. Yelagin, an emigre author, published a biography of Meyerhold in the United States. The book abounds in errors and flaws. The errors may well be involuntary, the flaws a result of ignorance. But an appendix to the book carries the text of Meyerhold's address at the conference, allegedly "as written by the author." This, though, is not an error but an outright falsification, which many Western scholars, however, took for the genuine thing. According to Yelagin, Meyerhold delivered an ardent speech in which he declared that "the theater of socialist realism has nothing in common with art," that his own work was "devoid of formalism," that the accusations directed against him were false, and so on, and so forth.

Alas, Meyerhold said nothing of the sort. The stenographic report, read by Meyerhold and with corrections in his own hand, is extant. It was a repentant, confused statement with the inevitable references to "Comrade Stalin's wise instructions" and repeated mention of the "glorious Stalin era." Meyerhold renounced his "formalistic excursions" and declared that the decision to close down his theater had been correct, just and wise.

Several days later a witness of those events, I. I. Chichurov, secretary of the Writers Union's dramatists section, wrote while they were still fresh in his mind: "The entire

hall gave Meyerhold an ovation. So what does Khrapchenko do? He lets Meyerhold out, supplying him with a prompt of what to say, how to say it, what sins to confess. Of course, Meyerhold's insipid, helpless speech yielded the reverse result."

The "reverse result"—a feeling of intense pity for Meyerhold—did not suit Khrapchenko. When summing up the results of the three-day debate he declared:

"V. E. Meyerhold spoke here. He mentioned his mistakes, but the acknowledgment of those mistakes was formal. The party teaches us that the important thing is not acknowledgment of mistakes but revealing the essence of those mistakes... But that is what V. E. Meyerhold has left unsaid. He has said nothing of the nature of his mistakes, which resulted in alienating his theater from the Soviet people."

Khrapchenko pronounced his verdict on June 19. There is no indication whether Meyerhold attended the theater directors conference's final session. All we know is that that night he took the "Krasnaya Strela" train to Leningrad and on the next day, June 20, 1939, in Leningrad, they took him away.

Shortly before his arrest Meyerhold had attempted to phone Moscow. Raykh heard his voice, but they were disconnected before she could answer. She also had visitors: a search in Meyerhold's apartment in Bryusov Street had been going on for 12 hours already.

#### The Treasure

During the search an inventory was drawn up, as required. It included Meyerhold's archive. However, the Lubyanka people did not bother to count the number of folders, listing, whether as an estimate or a guess, "40 folders." The reason for their negligence was simple enough: The archive was in the part of the apartment (Meyerhold's study and its anteroom), which they had locked and sealed. The red wax seals reliably guaranteed that Meyerhold's papers, which were soon to be confiscated, would not be tampered with.

However, less than a month later, under mysterious and to this day unexplained circumstances, Zinaida Raykh was murdered in that same apartment, in her home. A person or persons unknown had inflicted nine knife wounds, and she died in the ambulance taking her to the Sklifasovskiy Institute. Immediately after the funeral the entire Meyerhold-Raykh family was unceremoniously evicted from the apartment in Bryusov Street.

"They tore off the seals," relates Tatyana Sergeyevna Yesenina, "threw open the doors and told us to remove all the things, included the inventoried items!"

Tatyana Sergeyevna's letters, restrained and usually unemotional, lie before me. Only once in a while a flash of bitter irony or sense of unrelieved pain comes through.

As I reread the letters I recall the blue, Yesenin eyes of the poet's daughter and director's step-daughter, attentive, stern, demanding. They demand only one thing: the truth. I have been given permission to acquaint the reader with the contents of her letters. It is thanks to Tatyana Sergeyevna that I can now, for the first time, with no omissions, tell the entire exciting story of the archive.

In spite of the shock and stunning blow of the dual tragedy that had befallen the Meyerhold-Raykh family, the family members acted quickly and purposefully. Aleksey Petrovich Vorobyev, husband of Meyerhold's daughter Tatyana Vsevolodovna, was a garage manager, and he dispatched a truck to remove all the belongings to several addresses: some to Novinskiy Boulevard (where Raykh's sister O. N. Kheraskova lived), some to Zatsipa (where Meyerhold's stepson Kostya Yesenin had been given a tiny room in a communal apartment), some to the dacha in Gorenki (where Tanya Yesenina lived with her husband and child, and where Raykh's parents moved in), some to the apartment of Vorobyev and Tatyana Vsevolodovna in Petrovskiy (now Moskvyn) Street. The things that had been listed in the search inventory were shipped farther out to the dacha. Initially the archive had ended up at Tatyana Vsevolodovna's place, but they suddenly realized this and several days later Vorobyev took it out to the dacha.

"All the folders were stacked away in the garret, under the very roof. That summer no one was staying there and no one ever went up: the steps were too steep for the old folk," writes Tatyana Sergeyevna. "I think you have already guessed what had to be done with the archive. It was necessary to assemble 40 folders for confiscation, filling them with materials of little consequence, and hide the rest." All this had to be done urgently and swiftly. She felt that "they'd be coming soon."

All the efforts of Yelena Aleksandrovna Aleksandrova, who had so diligently arranged and ordered the archive, went down the drain. Tatyana Yesenina began by spilling out the contents of the folders on the floor and going through the heap of papers. "I worked three days and divided the archive into three unequal parts. All that seemed less valuable—second copies of stenographic reports, newspaper clippings, various forms, the green covers of Doctor Dappertutto's journal, "Love of Three Oranges," etc.—was stuffed away in the 40 doomed folders." But I was in a feverish state, and when it seemed to me that something more important should be placed in a folder for the sake of authenticity, I would do so. Unfortunately, in the haste I don't recall what I actually included, whether there was anything of value." Tatyana put the 40 folders designated for confiscation in an expensive, gaudy Italian trunk. Whatever she felt had to be saved she set aside: Meyerhold's manuscripts, diaries and notebooks, unique photographs, originals of stenographic reports of talks and rehearsals. Finally, Tanya put all letters to Meyerhold in a black leather suitcase which had once belonged to her father, Sergey Yesenin.

It was decided to hide the Yesenin suitcase and all the cherished manuscripts in a remote corner of the attic. Tanya had first seen the attic when she was a little girl. There she discovered an enclosed space between the roof and the garret into which one could crawl. She used to proudly show off the secret hiding place, "where no human has ever set foot," to her playmates. "We climbed up there several times, but then got tired of it." This time they removed several boards, making a passage to the hiding place, stowed the folders there and placed the black suitcase with the letters on top. Tatyana Yesenina was assisted by her husband Volodya Kutuzov and his sister Valya. Then they replaced the boards, sealing off the Meyerhold archive.

A month or so later, as Tanya had foreseen, the people from Lubyanka called. "There were two of them, in uniform... Volodya and I brought out the gaudy Italian trunk and placed it in the middle of the room, remarking that it was light and easy to carry and that it contained exactly 40 folders, go ahead and count them." The trunk looked very attractive. Realizing that they would be getting such an expensive thing together with the folders, the visitors departed in haste without even bothering to count the folders. I suspect that by the time they left Tatyana Yesenina was white as chalk, though she herself doesn't mention it.

Almost two years passed, the war began, and with it came air-raids: Not far from Gorenki there was a large numbered plant, which is why Gorenki was a bombing target. Many wooden dachas burned down to the ground. It was getting more dangerous outside of town than in the city, and the thought that a single incendiary bomb could destroy the dacha together with the archive kept troubling Tatyana. That was when she appealed to Eisenstein for help and when he said, "All right, I'll take it." He drove out at once. The driver used an axe to pry open the garret wall. "How romantic!" Sergey Mikhaylovich exclaimed. Grunting, he crawled into the hiding place and clambered out with the black suitcase. He decided to take it away at once.

What amazing intersections occur on the roads of history! Just imagine: Eisenstein emerges from a decrepit Moscow dacha, gets into a car, and on the seat at his side he sets Yesenin's suitcase, which contains Meyerhold's archive, letters from Chekhov, letters from Blok, letters from Komissarzhevskaya!... Fantastic? But that is just what happened that hot August night of 1941.

Eisenstein, however, was unable to take away the major, larger part of the archive. This required a truck. But where was one to get a truck? Why, of course, from Aleksey Petrovich Vorobyov. Vorobyov, Meyerhold's son-in-law, "a charming, softspoken person, said he'd arrange a truck, and its driver would be his own brother, who was so silent that he never spoke more than two words at a time. At the designated time on the designated day the very truck that was needed arrived: a van with rear doors that could be locked. The taciturn driver was

equipped with needed documents: an invoice to deliver a specified quantity of milk. We loaded the folders, then Volodya and I climbed into the van and were locked in from outside. We were to drive to Kratovo through Moscow. That was the first time during the whole adventure that I really felt scared."

The foregoing is from Tatyana Sergeyevna's letter. Volodya, it will be remembered, was her husband. We read on:

"We were travelling along essentially military roads, where vehicles were frequently stopped to check documents and cargoes, especially when entering or leaving the city. But we were so fortunate during the entire undertaking that I still feel superstitious about it. The van was stopped several times, they would check the papers, but never asked to see what the milk-cans looked like. We finally arrived. At the gate we were met by Sergey Mikhaylovich's mother. We transferred the folders to the house, where we stacked them in a strange storage space—a very deep built-in cupboard without shelves or partitions. Sergey Mikhaylovich had left by then, and I never saw him again."

Eisenstein's friend, the actor M. M. Shtraukh, relates that once—apparently already after the war—Eisenstein came to him and said enigmatically:

"I have Meyerhold's entire creative archive at my dacha!"

On several occasions Shtraukh helped Eisenstein "go through those extremely valuable documents. One should have seen Eisenstein at such moments! He was radiant! He could sit there from morning till late at night, lovingly fingering page after page. He would pick them up, read and reread them, unable to set them aside...."

In February 1948 Eisenstein died. In October of that year his widow, Pera Atasheva, handed all Meyerhold's materials to TsAGLI (Central State Literature and Arts Archive), where two young employees, Maya Mikhaylovna Sitkovetskaya and Valentina Petrovna Korshunova, once again went through and classified them, arranging them in order. Since the mid 1950s the "treasure" has been available to researchers, and all the publications of Meyerhold's theatrical heritage have not yet exhausted them. A new six-volume edition is currently being prepared which will, let us hope, give us a much better idea of Meyerhold's art and quests.

But as I recall how the treasure was saved, and the amazing road it has travelled, I feel that it is high time to return to the beginning of that road, that it is necessary to establish a museum in Meyerhold's apartment in Bryusov Street, where he used to be visited by Shostakovich and Pasternak, Prokofiev and Shebalin, Erdman and Olesha, all three Kukryniksy and Rodchenko, Vishnevskiy and Selvinskiy, where Sofronitskiy and Oborin often sat down at the piano, where Konchalovskiy

painted his portrait, where Mayakovskiy read his "With Full Voice"... It is necessary to turn this museum into a serious scientific and creative center for the study of Meyerhold's art. Our leading cultural personalities have been petitioning for this for some time.

The Moscow City Soviet, however, remains silent. Several years ago a symposium on Meyerhold's art was held in Stockholm. Where will the next one take place? In Munich, Mexico or Chicago? Or perhaps in Moscow, in Bryusov Street?

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### Stalinist Repressions of Georgian Cultural Figures Detailed

1800592 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
12 Jun 88 p 4

[Excerpts from the article by Georgiy Margvelashvili: "Fate: Postscript to History"]

[Excerpts] These 3 last years of the 80's, Be Blessed! . . . The year 1987 was the 50th anniversary of the bad memory of 1937; and how much of the bitter truth people have learned about the tragedy of the 30's in recent times. We speak about "thirty seven," but it is only a symbol of the culmination of the tragedy which befell the country.

Just think about it! Repressions were falling upon small Georgia almost continuously starting in the summer of 1924, then in 1929, during 1936-38, again after a "break" of the war years (if one can call war a break, but this one was the Great Patriotic War), in 1948-49, and finally in 1951-52.

Outstanding scientists, writers, musicians, artists, and directors were all erased from the face of the earth. If one is discussing Georgia, these are only some of the names: Grigoriy Filimonovich Tsereteli, Kita Megreldze, Vakhtang Kotetishvili, Mikhail Dzhavakhishvili, Titsian Tabidze, Paolo Yashvili, Yevgeniy Mikeldze, Sandro Akhmeteli, and Petre Otskheli. They were exterminated mercilessly at the prime of their creativity. What would the Georgian Soviet literature of the 20's and early 30's be without Mikhail Dzhavakhishvili, Titsian Tabidze, and Paolo Yashvili? And then the foundation of this literature was literally chopped off. If one pictures a normal human and humane perspective, it is even difficult to imagine the masterpieces by which Dzhavakhishvili, tabidze, and Yashvili could enrich the Georgian and all of Soviet literature, because each of them despite their complicated lives and literary roads had achieved exactly at that time the peak of their abilities! It was long ago foreseen by Boris Pasternak, who, for example, wrote

to Paolo's widow in 1937: "who will be the Georgian Mayakovskiy, or to what examples will ascend and from whom will learn the future young literature, if it is destined to develop?".

And the others?

We talk about Georgia, but the same was happening all over our country. And it is no coincidence that this phenomenon is now called "Stalinism".

And what kind of courage, moral and spiritual, did one have to have in order to withstand, to stand his ground, in this continuously thickening atmosphere. I had written once before that when in 1936 the incoming clouds started to cover the horizon of literature also, when articles and discussions were taking a form of political slating, were thickening the atmosphere and preparing the future disaster, Pasternak, who felt during a telephone conversation with Tabidze, the commotion taking over his friend, wrote him a letter, a wise, courageous letter full of really historical clairvoyance. He reminded his friend of similar phenomena in Moscow and came to the conclusion that had to support him during this difficult time: "If there is a part of truth in what was being published and prepared, it is only in that it coincides with the greatest plan of times. . . This truth was given in a cheerless weak solution. . . Titsian, do not trust the solutions. Believe exactly in this line, based exactly on revolutionary patriotism, believe better in yourself, Titsian Tabidze, because, whatever it is, chemistry of your nature dissolves anything in the world, whatever is the name of it, at the highest temperature degrees than it is accepted. . . Dig in deeper with a ground drill without fear and mercy, but only inside yourself, inside yourself. And if you will not find these peoples, earth, and sky, end searching, and then there is nowhere to search. Be assured. I am not the only one who believes in you and knows your value. Do not trust the solutions. Believe in revolution as a whole, fate, new inclinations of the heart, spectacle of life. . . In a century, not in a week. . .".

However, the abyss which swallowed Titsian, Paolo, Mikhail, and, in general, the cream of Georgian intelligentsia (if one limits himself to the boundaries of Georgia), had opened wide. And a string was stretching out from one murder to another, from the village Tsitsamuri, near which Ilya Chavchavadze was murdered, to Sogaulugskiy ravine, where the victims of 1937 were buried.

In the archives of Georgiy Leonidze, the closest friend and collaborator of Titsian and Paolo, a whole cycle of completed and unfinished poems was discovered in which this connection between the Tsitsamuri tragedy and 1937 is stressed with special persistence.

At one time, I managed to include his poem, "My Paolo and My Titsian", which as the poem mentioned above, was then at my request translated by Bella Akhmadulina for the book "Dreams About Georgia", in one of my



articles dedicated to Georgiy Leonidze and included in an academic collection of articles. Unfortunately, this complete version of originals has not been published as of yet. Also, it took a long time before the originals, translated by Yekaterina Kvitnitskaya, of the "Tsitsamuri" cycle, dedicated to the tragedy of Tabidze and Yashvili were published. These poems included in my commentatorial article were traveling for many years from one publisher to another and, finally, this material is published in the January issue of MNATOBI magazine.

It is characteristic that more often than not exactly those writers who were either exterminated in the mid 30's, or were forced to leave their motherland, were during their time the authors, if we limit ourselves with the example of Georgia, of the best works, or at least statements, about the leader of revolution, namely, Lenin. As it is known, Pasternak in the finale of his poem "High Disease" gave a memorable description of Lenin's image, which aroused the admiration of Mayakovskiy, Tikhonov, and many others. The more significant fact is, therefore, the high appraisal given by Pasternak to the poem of Yashvili on Lenin's death, which he himself brilliantly translated. "Paolo's poem is excellent. I have not read anything more significant and more strikingly written on Lenin's death," he wrote to his correspondents in Tbilisi. In his speech at the 1st Congress of Soviet writers, Nikolay Tikhonov also put these two poems together, namely, the finale of "High Disease" by Pasternak and the poem "On Lenin's Death" by Yashvili. He said: "Maybe, in 'High Disease' Pasternak has as of yet given the best lines about him, a brief, like a distance traveled by a ball lightening, sketch of the blinding flash. Of the poems written on Lenin's death, I am putting in one of the first places the poem of the Georgian poet Paolo Yashvili."

13355

#### **Aytmatov Rebuts Defenders of Stalin**

18000588 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in  
*Russian* 6 May 88 p 3

[Article by Chingiz Aytmatov: "Is the Foundation Being Undermined?"]

[Text] It was an extremely indicative fact in and off itself, but from the standpoint of the public's feelings at the time, it was very lamentable, if not shameful: for many years following the 20th congress, which courageously broke the blockade of the cult of the personality but was then relegated, unnoticed, to the sideline of political oblivion—or to put it more accurately, tacitly nullified—living constantly in an atmosphere of placidity and infinite complacency and expected to demonstrate a pseudostability in the nation, we tried not to think about it. In any case, no one pondered aloud about whether the cult spirit which had led the nation to the grossest of social and economic deformities and the

negative developments stemming from them was compatible with what our ideals stood for. We paid no attention to whether our slogans conformed to the reality or to how much Stalinism correlated to democracy, that tireless call of the centuries. The artificial, centralized aspects of that era were in no way compatible with authentic, valid democracy, with the rights and dignity of the individual, with social justice in all things pertaining to groups and citizens, peoples and nations, with the observance of socialist legality, with the basic concepts of human liberty and happiness.

And the fact that the history of the Soviet society still brought restructuring and glasnost only confirms the original potential of its initial phases: the restructuring and glasnost represent a regeneration of the Leninist revolution, a renewal of its great motivating forces. Precisely because of this, restructuring and Stalinism proved to be incompatible, like fire and water.

From the very beginning of the restructuring and glasnost, however, voices began to be heard, first in mute hints and then increasingly clearly, which detected danger in the open debate: nothing more nor less than the undermining of socialism's foundation and the loss of principles, of the gains of the era.... Everyone has a right to an opinion, of course. This makes it all the more necessary to speak about it in plain terms.

I shall begin a long way back, with something close to me, something which life taught me. I once had a discussion with some people in my native parts (I had gone to a village for the funeral of my father's last sister). Over tea at the funeral repast the talk, as usual, was about this and that, about czars and sages, including Stalin. One of the old-timers told an interesting story, an obviously didactic anecdote. It seems that Stalin gathered together his close companions— in-arms and told them: "It seems that you are all wracking your brains about how to control the people, how to get all of the people under the sun, all as one, to look me in the eyes, to blink when I blink, to open their eyes when I open mine, to turn me into a living god for everyone, because, according to an old saying, while the czar is not God, he is no less than God. Now I am going to teach you how to handle the people." He asked that a chicken be brought to him. He plucked the chicken alive, in front of everyone, the entire chicken, down to the last little feather, down to the living flesh, until there remained only the comb on the formerly crested head. "Now look," he said and released the chicken. It should have darted away somewhere or other, but it did not: it could not stand the heat of the sun, and it was cold in the shade. The poor thing cringed against Stalin's boots. The leader tossed it a bit of grain, and it followed him wherever he went. Otherwise, it was clear, the chicken would starve to death. "This is how you need to control people," is all he said by way of edification.

I recall the pause that followed. It was the embellished story of an old man, nothing more, but those present, sincerely delighted with the fable, clicked their tongues,



probably thinking of some remarkable comparisons of their own: The things that occur in this world.... What an astute man Stalin was! He would come up with something like that. He was a ruler among rulers, no question about it, and he pulled off the incident with the chicken splendidly....

One member of the group let fall a remark triggering further discussion, which was far from anecdotal, however. "All of it is true, even if it is just a story," he said, shaking his head. "That is just how they began disposing us, your fathers—by making us like that chicken. Otherwise, why did they need to break our wings? Soviet power itself gave us land, gave us liberty. As soon as we had protected and nurtured the fields, however, as soon as crops could be harvested, as soon as we acquired draft animals and our livestock began to multiply, then we got it: punishment for our labors, for sweating from morning to night. It seemed as though we were our own enemies. They robbed us, ruined us completely, scattered us about Siberia as though we were of another race. And how many people were shot? The most successful farmers were the first to go. Anyone who had a grudge against someone or coveted another's property would whisper things. It was a cruel joke: yesterday a person had been running his farm, but in the next instant he was left without a horse, a coat, a roof over his head, without land, without a source of water. As for the children, they were placed wherever possible, anywhere to get them out of the way. The rest of the people were assigned to kolkhozes. The work was endless there, and when they received their wages for the workday, it was like taking home sand in a sieve. A couple of years went by, and those who had called us kulaks were now themselves rotting in the same camps with the kulaks. And so, my friends, the bottom line is that he was trying so hard not for the people but in order to get a throat-hold on everyone all at once, to beat everyone down to the same level. Let fear glue them to his boots, with everyone trying to shove everyone else away from the master...."

One word led to another, and the discussion grew heated. So many bitter memories suddenly spewed forth: one had imprisoned another, one had informed on someone, and it had brought them not a dime's worth of happiness; someone took someone's horse; another, someone's felt-ing; someone a rug, a samovar. So much property and livestock destroyed for nothing, and the famine which struck as a result (I remember that myself; it was the year 1932, and I witnessed it)! From Kazakhstan too, engulfed in massive devastation, wholesale deaths and drought, kept coming the persecuted, landless people wanting to sell small children and young girls for a bit of bread: death awaited them anyway in those terrible times, and entire cemeteries were left along the roadsides. Everything was recalled at that moment, memories stirred by a random word. And one man, Stalin, had been involved in all of the attacks. It was as though he had been a local instigator of rebellion and not the leader of the great revolutionary party whose proclaimed goal was the happiness of the working people.

It all ended when an old front-line fighter, doomed to walk on crutches for life, could no longer take it. He began to yell at what he was hearing and threatened with tears in his eyes to beat up everyone with his crutches if they did not stop belittling the great man in whose name he had entered into battle.... "Just where were you then, before Khrushchev? Now you babble." He too was right to voice his reproach.

But why am I telling this? Because it is a matter of history, one which has been hushed up. Worse than that, it has been altered, justified and presented as an unbroke-n triumph crowned by a miracle-working name, although in fact this is far from the way it was.

Talk is not documentary evidence, as they say, but although the discussion took place not at a parliamentary session but in a group of common people, far more truth came out in that depiction, albeit simple and naive, of Stalin's invasion of peasant life than in some pseudo-scientific studies compiled as lifelong dues for confirmation of the unconfirmable (and those dues have been and continue to be paid!). Was that parable of the chicken not a depiction of one of the people's greatest tragedies, one of the most catastrophic confrontations they ever experienced, the devastating consequences of which are still being felt?

Try to recall just who it was that so thoroughly destroyed the most skilful and efficient farmers among the nurturing folk, in the life-giving segment of the population. Why did the kolkhozes, peasant artels, have to be turned into state monopolies with the medieval custom of forced labor? I say this because my brother and I were in that situation. We worked on the Dzhiyde Kolkhoz in what is now Manasskiy Rayon, worked in the fields for sustenance alone. Refusal to work in the fields was punished with disciplinary oppression. We all know the result: alienation of the farmer from the land, loss of a sense of having a part in the collective property and of a personal interest in the results of the work, the steady depopulation of the villages, particularly in Russia's central oblasts, an ever increasing imbalance between the groups directly engaged in obtaining the material necessities and those employed in the monitoring and administrative system, bloated more each year. The old caustic joke, at one time very valid in its social focus, about one man with a plow and seven with spoons, began to sound like an inoffensive anachronism. In Stalin's time there began to be far more of those with spoons, of those watching and giving orders to the peasant.

This was not the worst of it, however. Stalin's absurd fixation with having a rich state but a poor population, which never was and never will be, dominated the minds of leaders right up until the restructuring. They included Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, who could not resist its lure. It is impossible to understand today why the central and local authorities had to make such an effort to see that no peasant family acquired an extra sheep or calf. This, you see, would violate the principles of socialism

(which turned out not to be the principles of socialism but Stalin's interpretation of those principles). The confiscation, under the guise of a contract and for a wretched price, of every little bit raised by the peasant on his personal plot over and above the quotas set at the top, the reduction of gardens and orchards down to minute areas, while there were idle and weed-infested plots and backyards—no matter how one tries to rationalize all of this, objectively viewed, it was the demise of the village. It is not surprising that this same faulty path was taken in China, and there too the victims of the experiment numbered in the millions of human lives. Thank God, the Chinese leaders were able to figure out what was happening and work out a way to the nation's agrarian salvation through the contract, leasing, cooperation and other forms of the modern business approach. Everyone knows about China's success. And no one there was particularly saddened by the failure of the communes, which did not justify themselves. I believe that even the Pol Pot people, who inflicted unprecedented genocide upon their own nation, had a fairly transparent example to follow. One need only to recall the history of Stalin's devastating resettlement of the Chechen, Ingush, Kalmyk and Karachay peoples, the Caucasian Turks, Crimean Tatars, Kurds and other peoples toward the end of the war. To this day—it will soon be half a century—a veil is drawn over those disasters and sufferings.

All of these ruinous developments borne of Stalinism and its Eastern variations are based on an enormous distortion of the objectives of socialism, in which ideas do not serve peoples but peoples are turned into a means of utilizing those ideas, like fuel for fire. During what ancient period was the immoral precedent of using any means to achieve the goal set? Throughout the centuries mankind has suffered and continues to suffer from this evil. Thanks to Stalin, even socialism, unfortunately, did not escape this fate....

But let us return to the kolkhozes. If they actually did represent socialist agrarian management units, it was despite Stalin's despotism, because people who find themselves in even such purposelessly harsh situations try to survive, to adapt, to continue their lineage, and this can only be accomplished with labor. It is true that even at this price and despite the enormous effort and struggle, the kolkhozes have still been unable to become models of progressive agriculture. Labor productivity, crop yields and livestock productivity on our kolkhozes and sovkhozes can in no way compare with the figures for highly developed nations. Is this not why, while possessing the greatest land and water resources on the planet—contrariwise, as it were—our nation is not in a position to supply itself with grain. It purchases grain from the ends of the earth—specifically, in America and Canada? It is difficult to say how we would have made ends meet at all if we had not had gas, oil, gold and lumber for sale, although this in turn attests to the extensive, wasteful, antiquated state of Soviet exports.

Stalin's despotism damaged the potentials of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes so greatly and for such a long time, and the rural worker was so hopelessly deprived of initiative and independence and suppressed as a free agent, that this became problem number one for us, for our nation. Many of us will not pass up a good opportunity haughtily to remind ourselves and others that ours is a nation of discoveries in outer space. That is indeed so. But what are space matters compared with the problems of obtaining our daily bread? An incomprehensible paradox! Incidentally, space, the industries and the sciences have all historically been carried by the rural worker. And what is the inverse connection? What do we give in return? What is our scientific, intellectual and technological response? Do we promote social and democratic improvements in the rural area? Are we not egotistical in this respect, not hypocritical? How many verbal fireworks exploded around the "flourishing" of kolkhoz power, but the rural area has remained just as it was: much-suffering and poor for the most part. And the rural area is the society's foundation. Without uplifting the rural area, crushed and broken under Stalin and his successors, to a real and absolutely definite economic height—simply stated, to the height of sober calculation—we cannot accomplish all the rest, the entire, interrelated range of economic tasks. Opening up new, clear and just economic prospects for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes along the path of restructuring involves saving the nation's agriculture and ridding the rural area of the Stalinist legacy.

Does this not make it worthwhile to interpret both the past and the present from a position of glasnost? Ridding ourselves of the chains of the past in no way means undermining socialism, "departing from the principles" and so forth, as people still under the "charm" of the cult of Stalin continue to try to make it appear. Are we even now, justifying the evil deeds perpetrated upon the peasantry, the intelligentsia, party and military cadres, upon everything in the society which suffered irreplaceable losses in the '30s, '40s and '50s, going to drive that steed of infamous demagoguery as though around a circus ring, maintaining that the cause was an exacerbation of the class struggle under socialism and spurring the horse on with the refined whip of modern cynicism?

People bring up over and over the Jesuitically embellished saying: "You can't make omelets without breaking eggs." It was good when, through the kindness of fate, people did not become those eggs for the omelet, when they fortuitously avoided the fate of being executed by shooting as part of the thousands and thousands of overly fervent enthusiasts who appeared at the dawning of the revolution to build a new society and who, with their fervor and integrity, did not suit the imperial pretensions of the power-hungry leader. It was good when people did not spend time in Stalin's camps, on islands and in the tundra, behind barbed wire, did not walk around in putrefaction and sores with frost-bitten hands and feet, did not die of scurvy, did not go insane and did not end their own lives when they found

themselves among the hundreds of thousands of former front-line fighters in camps of the homeland after being prisoners of war in the enemy's concentration camps. This inhuman cruelty and defiant contempt for human lives brought punishment of the front-liners with death and hard labor for the fact that fate had been so cruel. Could he not have known that there is no such thing as wars without the dead, the wounded and prisoners? Who could have foreseen what fate awaited whom...?

Only by arrogantly ignoring all of this, only by forgetting that any one of us at that time (and the young people can put themselves mentally into this position) could perfectly well have been the victim of Stalin's terror, can one try to justify it.

It seems to Stalin's zealots that they have several irrefutable historical arguments. One of them has to do with the nation's industrialization in the '30s. DneproGES and Magnitka are cited as examples of his "era." An era is created by the people, however, as a whole, in their totality, responding to the economic demands of the time. I am more than confident that had there been no Stalin, DneproGES and Magnitka would still have come into being: there was a historical need to develop them. Some nations thrust ahead, promptly heeding the summons of the time, while others catch up with them, frequently trading places. If there had been no Stalin, Russia would still not have remained at the 1913 level, would still have forged ahead toward industrialization with all its strength. It is another matter that October opened up new prospects and the people took advantage of them. But did they take full advantage?

It seems to me that industrial growth, like any other kind of growth, should not be measured alone and not so much by the extremely simple formula of what was and what is—we did not have this or that, now we do; this or that was built; life was bad, now it is better—but according to the more inclusive historical criterion of how this or that achievement compares with advancements of the same kind in other places and other nations. To say that DneproGES and Magnitka, built under Stalin, were outstanding events but fail to mention the fact that the same sort of facilities and even larger ones were being built at the same time in other nations—no one was sitting around idle—is to exaggerate the achievements in a one-sided comparison and to minimize what was possible, what could have been but did not come about. Incidentally, this applies also to agriculture.

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes were a stage in economic development when compared with the prerevolutionary, old-agrarian Russia, of course. Who is disputing that? When we compare the kolkhoz-sovkhoz level in the foreshortened contemporary era with what was achieved in the same fields (labor productivity, crop yields, agrotechnology) during the same period in other highly developed states, however, everything falls into place....

This is what I am saying: to attribute all of the achievements of that period to Stalin, to assert that they could not have occurred without him, is to make a fetish of his name and his role. And we know that fetishes are superstition....

People say that Stalin won the war. As though he had won a chess game. This is the same sort of fetishism. The commander in chief is the top person, to be sure. Naturally, his role and contribution in a war are significant. His position requires that he have a competent grasp of strategy, tactics and other aspects of military operations. This is in the order of things. Who can prove that the nation would have lost the war if Stalin had not been the supreme commander, however, and not some other military leader? Criticism of Stalin is not a matter of belittling or writing off the victory as such, a victory which was a universal cause, a cause of all the people, and not just a matter of the unwavering vigilance of one individual, albeit a brilliant one. Finally, the winning of the war does not exempt us from the need for social and political criticism. There must be life, development and improvement after a war as well. It is good to laud the victory. It is pleasant to drink from the cup of glory, but it is even more important to organize life after the victory on a civilized basis, to improve the welfare of the people. And those people are correct who believe that when we talk of the war, we should first of all underscore the enormous spirit of patriotism in the Soviet people which roused the nation, from the lowest to the highest, and overcame the enemy at a cost of incredible, incomprehensible sacrifices and deprivations. Incidentally, there could have been far fewer of these had Stalin truly been the unsurpassed military leader of all times and ages. I would add to this something about which we still speak without any particular enthusiasm—once again, I believe, because we are looking over our shoulder at Stalin. We must express proper gratitude for the allied assistance provided by the USA and England in World War II. American pilots delivered 14,795 combat aircraft alone under Lend Lease, not to speak of the other equipment and the food. This was very timely aid from the American people, and we should not forget it.

It is hardly fair, intelligent or wise to attribute the victory to one individual, as to a deity, to make of him a lofty and infallible figure, as Stalin is depicted in some films. The creation of a mythology around an individual during his lifetime, one bordering on religious worship (and this was the case during his lifetime), attests to the sickness of that individual and to the inadequate sophistication of the society. Today, we are trying to cure ourselves of that malaise of patriarchal obsequiousness. This is what the forces of glasnost should focus on.

One is sometimes forced to think about and compare how rapidly and vigorously the defeated FRG and Japan, turned into ashes and totally devastated, and Finland, which emerged from the war not in the very best condition, rose up in a postwar economic rebirth and how rapidly and solidly they achieved forward

heights in their standard of living and their industrial status. And the victorious nation, which advertised its unprecedented prospering under Stalin's leadership even in the official State Anthem, constantly played in his presence, was still unable to extricate itself from the ever increasing gaps in industry and agriculture and therefore, in the entire life of the people, compared with other nations. Numerous conclusions and factors, from political to climatic (although the climate in Finland is in no way any better), are used to explain and justify this strange phenomenon, but the fact remains. Not the least of the causes of the regression, I believe, were Stalin's hopeless isolationism, his tendency of hostility toward hope and alienation of the surrounding world. It does not take a great deal of intelligence to live with neighbors by threats and hostility. It takes far more intelligence and flexibility to understand the interaction of various world structures in order to derive mutual benefits.

In an attempt to define Stalin's greatness, some people try to compare him with Peter the Great. Their only possible similarity is the fact that both were autocrats (Peter by heritage; Stalin, to all intents and purposes). The difference is that Peter opened up a window to Europe for the Russia of the boyars, while Stalin closed off to us a Europe liberated from fascism by Soviet soldiers.

The echo of his violence against the people will continue to rumble ominously in the hearts and souls of the Soviet people for a long time to come. The terrible thing about "his echo" is the dual mathematics with which we have passed off antidemocracy as supreme Stalinist democracy before the entire honorable world. This kind of self-deceit is always laden with tragic consequences.

Democracy is the art of the masses. It is expected to provide freedom of thought and self-expression for every member of society, without deteriorating, of course, into ochlocracy—that is, into disorderly rabble-rousing. It is not surprising that when we faced up to the need to develop democracy in its real forms, we encountered disagreements. Specifically, with respect to Stalin. Everyone is free to have his own viewpoint, of course. When, because of inadequate knowledge, an individual identifies socialism with Stalin, that is his problem. If, however, he deliberately substitutes concepts, he will always find opponents in fundamental disagreement with him. We paid too great a price for our grasp this fact.

Finally, Stalin is long since gone. Not until now, however, 35 years after his death, has the full truth about him finally begun to be brought out, overcoming the idolatry syndrome, in the press and at meetings, for all the world to hear and, typically, without the previous pitiful beating around the bush and "shaking knees." It is terrible to think how profoundly our society was paralyzed by Stalin's repression and his authoritarian regime!

Spiritual enslavement can be voluntary, even desired, pleasurable and zealous as a result of a patriarchal-obsequious cult established around one individual by totalitarian means. When people are destroyed over a period of many years and are not in a position to counter despotism and cruelty coming from within the official pale, they are prepared to deify the evil itself, finding therein a certain inner compensation for their helplessness and a certain illusory merging with the superman presence, whose worship becomes the norm in their life. It is therefore sometimes difficult to change the minds of or even to reproach the apologists for Stalinism. One has to be patient with them, just as one has to be patient with any kind of religious passions.

A fully valid culture of free-thinking men can only be developed through democracy and glasnost.

The older generations are gradually departing the arena of active life. It is now up to the young. Today's extraordinarily complex world has turned toward humanism as the most meaningful thing on earth, embodying therein the total historical experience of mankind. There is no other way. I am thoroughly convinced that only a mind freed of Stalinist thinking can comprehend and perfect the new world.

11499

#### **Director of Film on Released Political Prisoners Interviewed**

*18000589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 30 Jun 88 p 5*

[Interview between our correspondents I. Semin and V. Zadera and film director A. A. Proshkin: "Memory of the Cold Years"]

[Text] The recently released film "The Cold Year of Fifty-Three . . ." (2.5 million people have seen it in Moscow alone) aroused a widespread public response primarily as an artistic version of the little known events associated with the closing years of I. Stalin's personality cult. Our correspondents conducted an interview on this subject with the director of the film, A. A. Proshkin.

[Question] Aleksandr Anatolevich, you have spoken on more than one occasion about the historical truth behind the subject of your film—the so-called "Voroshilov Amnesty," which resulted in the release of many criminals after Stalin's death. Professional historians and publicists supported your version. However, don't you think that filling in history's "blank spaces" should be left to scholars, rather than cinematographers?

[Answer] I agree that the cinema should not replace history and the work of historians, otherwise neither the cinema nor science are worth a penny. You see, art's task is to shock, reveal contradictions which force people to

feel and think and present people with some kind of moral choice and resolution. However, our history is so dramatic that it is simply impossible for it not to become the subject of art.

Something else concerns me: at present, during a time of great change in the public and political climate, to which the cinematographer is also making some contribution, I am afraid that a fashionable subject may arise. You see already, repressed grandads and grandmas are "getting into" some productions because they are the latest thing. Art may again be in danger of political vulgarization.

What counteracts this? I think that dependence on moral absolutes unites artistic discovery with scientific perception in our present consciousness and in the consciousness of certain people. We did not have any strictly documented facts, because we essentially did not have access to the appropriate documents. The project was mainly based on the testimonies of people who had gone through similar experiences, on individual literary remarks and on a feeling for the spirit of those times. Our consultants, veterans of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who participated directly in eliminating the after-effects of the amnesty of '53, were of inestimable help.

[Question] Your film clearly traces the transition from "repentance" to "incrimination," to the trial of the descendants, which began and continues. However, we felt that some of the viewers expected to see a more politicized film.

[Answer] In this particular case, exaggerating the political aspect, intentional politicization, could have become speculative, therefore it would have contradicted the high artistic value and truth. Imagine that the action stopped and our heroes began talking about Stalin and about the times, occasionally recounting history and discussing the era . . . They did not talk like that among themselves, they were afraid to talk, afraid of each other, and they only gave their names at times of extreme danger. Fear was instilled in everyone.

We wanted primarily to depict the moral atmosphere which reigned in society at that time, when black declared itself to be white and vice versa. The people were not deformed by those times, we all bear a certain mark of deformity, just as do the heirs of those times. We still encounter people who bear the mark of those times: those who are prepared for any situation, any danger, those who are "unsinkable," who are prepared in the end to betray, "pawn" someone. These are people without a sense of "I" without an opinion of their own, who are prepared to write off everything under a loud "we."

There were many people like this, but they did not constitute the majority; it is not so easy to give an evaluation, considering how right the classicist was when he spoke of "nation of slaves." Our present return to this period is senseless without compassion, love, deep sympathy and understanding of the lives of our fathers and

grandfathers. For they were sentenced to live, possibly, in the most tragic period of modern history, which contained the robbery of collectivization, Stalin's many years of genocide against his people and the bloodiest war in the history of mankind.

Today we talk primarily about the tragic lives of outstanding people, of the ruined political, scientific and cultural life of the country. We know very little about the fate of the ordinary people in the threshing machine of Stalin's "struggle for a bright future." But victims such as our Basargin or Starobogatov constituted the majority, there were millions of blue-collar workers, kolkhoz farmers, petty white-collar workers, those 'arrested' by order, soldiers, officers and those who went across country from prison to camp.

The moral duty of our generation is to reveal the whole truth about this time. We need a monument to the victims of repression which will be a tribute to the memory and grief, as well as a wrathful curse at Stalinism. I completely agree with those who suggest removing the gravestones of Vyshinskiy, Mekhlis and other assistant tyrants, which defile our historical memory, from the Kremlin walls. I agree with those who have requested that the names of the multitude of streets named after Zhdanov be renamed after Shostakovich, Akhmatova, Zoshchenko. Many are even requesting that Stalin's grave be removed. But, in this case, I think that to doom the "genius of all time and nations" to oblivion will in some strange way restore him to life.

[Question] Do you believe that there is some connection between your previous work, the television serial "Mikheylo Lomonosov" and the film "The Cold Year of Fifty-Three?" Did you undertake a controversial film which some people consider only a "historical dramatic hit?"

[Answer] First, I was simply taking advantage of the opportunity to recount a little-known and extremely tragic page of our modern history, the original dramatic material being somewhat different. While working on these films, my point of departure was the fact that the return of historical memory is the foundation of our spiritual rebirth. We were intentionally deprived of this characteristic of the public psyche, it was removed from our consciousness, we are the single and unique example, at least among the European nations, of a nation who does not know their history. I am applying this to myself, a Russian, because in Armenia or Georgia, for example, any teenager can recount thousands of years of the history of his kray. We, on the other hand, somehow easily miscalculate our centuries. Obliviousness to our cultural traditions and ancient moral values, a decline in customs and an increase in the overall background of evil and cruelty -this is all associated to a great extent with the atrophy of memory.

Historical lobotomy was the primary foundation of the Stalin spiritual uprising, the goal of which was to create millions of Pavlik Morozovs. The moral climate of this society was defined by the constant readiness of everyone to repulse the enemy, who periodically changed his guise and name, but was invariably present. A person was born not for happiness, love and joy, but to struggle primarily with the evil of his mythical origin.

However paradoxical it may be, the era of stagnation, this "neostalinism," was essentially a time of the greatest flourishing of the system of authoritative Stalinist "socialism." The "romantic" bloody period was replaced by relative calm, with almost no opposition on the domestic front, society submissively began to rejoice in small things. People have become accustomed to a double consciousness, laughing, they applaud the leader's latest decoration, but at the same time do not lose hope that it could represent some distinguished, notable progress. Dissidence and integrity are no longer punished with a bullet, but with ostracism. The authorities are uncontrolled, this leads to corruption and the embezzlement of state property. Official art is restricted to a variety of eulogies and an "ideological striptease act"—tearing the guise and mask from the enemy. The enemy, however, is just as indispensable an entity as before.

While the memory of the Stalin era arouses pain and fear, Brezhnev's time left only a feeling of shame. And one of the most shameful moments was the completely hopeless attempt to reduce the flood of truth about Stalin and the millions of victims to a mere trickle. They emasculated and brought to naught the spirit of the 20th Congress and morally poisoned the generation of the sixties which was so vividly coming to life. The young people, on the other hand, who were inheriting the snatches of information, half-knowledge and half-truth, could not forgive their fathers for their passive conformism.

Of course, I am talking about things which are quite well-known in contemporary times. But, I would like the connection between today's morals and yesterday's history to be understood by the heart. Without this there is no truth and no art.

[Question] Did your film crew experience any difficulties while making and shooting the film?

[Answer] The film was written in that idyllic period of confusion when one model of cinematography was being replaced by another. Associations were established, on the one hand, and surrendered, on the other . . . We filmed in a single breath, in two months, and improvised a great deal right on the film set.

The main problems of "passability" are now being solved in principle at the level of the creative association. There are battles of pure taste, but that's the way it is . . . it's the sort of thing you can "turn a deaf ear" to. So you turn a deaf ear, thank goodness. And now I am amazed

when I remember how the film about Lomonosov, whose subject matter was supposedly so safely distant from our times, "passed" with such great difficulty: a lot of things bent and broke . . .

[Question] There are a lot of actors in your film who are not known to the broad public, but the "gap" between their way of acting and the work of actors with established reputations is not noticeable. In some of the letters from viewers, it is suggested that the film "The Cold Year . . ." apparently used nonprofessional actors "from real life" (more precisely, from the prison camps). Did you have any particular criteria for selecting actors? Which of them would you like to single out?

[Answer] I like my actors very much and spend much time and effort working with them. I was lucky enough to work for several years as an actor at the Leningrad Theater of Comedy with the amazing, unforgettable H. N. Akimov. Incidentally, since then I still have an intrinsic taste for the light, comic genre, even though I have to work with something very different.

I feel a great respect for and often work with actors from provincial theaters, and primarily see in them an alertness, passion and keen ear for life. In recent years they have livened up our screens to a certain extent and have somehow rid art of its indifferent self-satisfaction.

I essentially attribute the main reason for the film's success to the selection of actors: apparently, this does not sound very original, as does my opinion that the professionalism of an actor is primarily the maturity of his soul and the depth of his personality. V. Priemykhov, for example, is a man with an absolute, somehow "dog's" sense of the truth. "To act out" and recreate more or less utterly "untruthful," false situations in our cinema and life is difficult for him. But if his feeling for truth coincides with a similar feeling in the director, then the result is what he and D. Asanovaya did in the film "Patsan."

The subject of the film only somewhat applied to Anatoliy Dmitrievich Papanov: in 1941, while working in a factory, he spent some time under interrogation for the sale of some machine parts. However, he experienced many of the sorrows and burdens of those years. He spent the entire war in a soldier's uniform and knew the whole and terrible truth about the trenches. He never liked to talk about this and did not want to wear a medal, he had seen too much blood and loss . . .

The impression of him as a jovial, light-hearted, happy man, which was evident from his grotesque, satirical roles, does not coincide at all with his personality and life. He was a rare person: extremely well-bred and scrupulous, vulnerable and incredibly kind, being primarily benevolent toward his colleagues and friends, which is rare in the actors' department. When people like this leave, the general climate in art deteriorates, they take

with them part of the moral tradition which characterizes Russian culture. We worked together for a very short time, but I am eternally grateful that this man was part of my life.

I would also like the viewers to direct their attention to the filigree work of V. Kashpur in the keen, socially precise portrayal of Yu. Kyznetsov and to V. Stepanov, who played Lomonosov in the last picture, and a policeman in this one. And, of course, I feel especially drawn to the outstanding Leningrad actress Nina Usatovaya and our debut actress Zoe Buryak.

[Question] You did not even cheat the gang of criminals of their share of social originality: the thugs in the film were not faceless, although they were obviously "forged from the same chain" and extremely ominous. Incidentally, the editors received several letters from former or present criminals with threats directed at you personally. How can the artistic effect be explained in this case: by the removal of the taboo on portraying violence and cruelty in all its vulgarity, by the renunciation of the slightest grounds for romanticizing the "thief," to which we have somehow become accustomed, or by the distinctness of the social result of the criminal amnesty?

[Answer] Apparently, by all of these things. We primarily attempted to more or less truthfully portray prison camp psychology. Bandits are individuals, because all of them had different pre-camp lives. They were not all professionals, only one of them was, others, as you can understand, were Fascist traitors operating under the cover of criminal codes, still others were simply riff-raff, etc. But in the camp, where they were "blue blood," where they could not work because of the "political" prisoners, and where they could repress and betray them by carrying out "disciplinary" camp terror as criminals and hangmen rolled into one, their situation united, corrupted and seduced them.

It was the depraved morals of Stalinism which gave birth to the monstrous division into political "enemies of the people" and "socially intimate" criminals, almost "friends of the people." Many repressed people feel contempt and hatred for criminal acts their entire lives, viewing them as a disdainful and corrupt stratum and an element of the terrible and insidious system of oppression and infliction which is not subject to any moral standards. This is why the bloody fights between "political" prisoners and criminals similar to relatively well-known "Dzhezkazgan" broke out, especially after the war.

Incidentally, artistic generalization is not always exhaustive. The amnesty of 1953 returned a great many people to life. Among them were political prisoners who had a short term: so-called "everyday" prisoners, the largest contingent of whom were accused of both economic crimes and stealing a loaf of bread or sack of potatoes out of hunger and, in the end, many of whom found the strength to break with a criminal past.

[Question] In your opinion, what types of films have been most successful for you?

[Answer] I do not like to watch my own films, and I am not the only one. It seems there was always this division among directors: some are almost euphoric about what they have created, others are painfully self-absorbed.

In a relatively brutal picture, I wanted to achieve an intonation of pity and compassion. This is why there is the ending with the two 'zeks' meeting on the street.

The subject of return was touched upon briefly in several films at the beginning of the '60's, but they were too buoyant. You see, people returned to life, but then had to scrape by for a very long time. They returned but were not immediately reunited with their families, fearing that they may suffer because that was the way it was before: they return and immediately receive a second sentence. They still do not understand how strong the change is in their lives and the life of their country. Is it always easy even for us to understand this now?

[Question] You mentioned the difficulties you had working on the film about Lomonosov. What were the reasons for them?

[Answer] In short, the fact that this is a film about history. It is not coincidental that during the 70's there were practically no films of this type made. Only "jubilee" and pompous history was wanted. Observing ideologues termed the tragedy and greatness of its officials and their rises and falls "palace subjects," which were alien to the interests of the Soviet people. Any mention of the enlightening mission of the Orthodox church caused government shock.

We hardly forced the layer of Russian history and culture of the 17th century into the film. It essentially fell out of our consciousness and the science courses taken not only in school but also in the VUZes. You see, eight tsars ascended to the throne during Lomonosov's life, it was a truly 'confused time', that is, worthy of study and exceptionally complex and comprehensive.

Finally, the destruction of the stereotype of that sugary icon, into which the living Russian genius was transformed, did not take place easily. Out of Lomonosov, who to a significant degree instilled the German tradition into literature, cultivated the German school like a scientist, read Eyler and Wolf and finally married a German, some anti-German, Russophile figure was made. His "Letter about the Preservation and Multiplication of the Russian People" deserves close attention, and the gigantic scale of this personality and his disdain for national self-conceit can be understood.



These distortions were made mainly during the war and post-war periods of Russian and Soviet history. The image of a person of European thinking, but Russian character and way of life and morals, was watered down to a great extent, only artistic research helped reveal this.

[Question] Judging from the results, your efforts to understand the historical truth by means of cinema art were quite fruitful. Do you plan to continue work in this direction?

[Answer] I have already begun work on a television series about N. I. Vavilov. I do not want this to be a documentary film, not a life history, but the history of a life in which, in my opinion, one of the greatest tragedies in the history of science took place, comparable possibly to the martyrdom of Jordano Bruno. You see, the murder of Vavilov is the murder of an idea, of an entire direction in human understanding, which has appalling consequences for the country and for all of us.

12793

#### **Uzbek Supreme Soviet Addresses Cultural Monument Neglect**

18000587 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
26 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report entitled: "At the UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The UzSSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium passed a resolution detailing the work of ministries, agencies and local soviets to uphold the UzSSR legislation on the protection of historical and cultural monuments and the use of cultural heritage in workers' communist education.

The resolution noted that ministries, agencies and local soviets of the people's deputies have accomplished some work in carrying out the UzSSR legislation on the protection of historical and cultural monuments and the use of cultural heritage in workers' communist education.

At the same time, as documents of the commission on mass education and culture show, serious shortcomings have not been overcome in this important state undertaking. Many ministries, agencies and local soviet ispolkoms do not fulfill the requirements of the UzSSR law on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments, tolerate the deterioration, or even complete destruction, of a part of cultural legacy. From the early 1950s at least 20,000 monuments have been lost. In Kara-Kalpak ASSR, over one third of the 400 monuments protected by the state has been destroyed. In the Surkhan-Darya Oblast, of the 400 unique sites that retain their complete ancient infrastructure, only 2 remain. Similar examples are found in other oblasts.

Such instances occur because economic entities, disregarding existing laws, plow under and demolish ancient settlement sites, destroy architectural complexes and plant crops and build irrigation systems and other structures on historical monument sites without obtaining proper permits.

For instance, with the knowledge of the UzSSR Gosagroprom and the Ellikkalinskiy, Beruniyskiy, Turtkulskiy and Khodzheyliyskiy rayon ispolkoms crops have been planted in the immediate vicinity, and even directly inside the protected zone, of historical and architectural monuments Koy Krylgan-Kala, Toprak-Kala, Greater and Lesser Guldursun and others. Instead of putting an end to illegal activities of local officials, local authorities include this acreage in the farms' official cultivated land count, and yields from those fields are included in the plan. As a result, those monuments, mainly dating from antiquity, have been flooded with ground waters and are being rapidly destroyed. Kolkhozes "Uzbekistan" and imeni Kuybyshev of Pastdargomskiy Rayon, kolkhoz imeni Voroshilov of Kasanskiy Rayon and sovkhozes "Babatag" of Sariasinskiy Rayon and imeni 24th Congress of Bakhmalskiy rayon plowed under a number of ancient settlement sites without getting requisite permits.

Serious violations of existing monument protection laws are perpetrated by water authorities: when they undertake an irrigation or a construction project they do not coordinate their activities with state monument protection entities.

The UzSSR Ministry of Culture and its Main Administration of National Monuments, as well as local soviet ispolkoms, have not ensured proper registration of historical and cultural monuments. Many registered monuments no longer exist. Meanwhile, more than 2,500 monuments discovered during this period have not been placed under state protection. Thus, more than 700 monuments remain unregistered in Samarkand Oblast, 212 in Surkhan-Darya Oblast, 187 in Bukhara Oblast and more than 220 in Tashkent. This abnormal situation often leads to monuments being lost. The work of drafting monument leasing contracts has not been organized properly. Rents are paid only on 20 percent of leased sites, which significantly reduces the flow of funds into the historical and cultural monument restoration fund.

The Ministry of Culture is unacceptably slow in assigning protected areas and restricted construction zones around cultural monuments. This results in structures being built in the immediate vicinity of monuments, especially in cities, which distort the way architectural monuments are perceived.

UzSSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services and Samarkand, Surkhan-Darya and Khorezm oblast ispolkoms tolerate neglect, filth and antisaniitary conditions in areas around monuments. This is true also of



such world renowned monuments visited by a large number of Soviet and foreign tourists as the Bibi-Khanym mosque and the Afrasiab settlement in Samarkand, the Yunusabad Aktepe in Tashkent, the Termez settlement and others.

The organization of structural conservation work also leaves a lot to be desired. More than 600 monuments under local-level state protection need restoration and conservation. Yet, a majority of local soviets allocate no funds for this.

The pace of restoration is slow. Funds allocated for such work by the monument protection agency "Memor" systematically remain unspent. The restoration of the Abdullakhan Muslim school and the Kalyan mosque in Bukhara, the Bibi-Khanym mosque and mausoleum in Samarkand, the Kukeldash Muslim school and the Dzhami mosque in Tashkent, the Ak-Saray palace in Shakhrisabz and many other sites. At the same time, one half of the "Memor" funds is spent on projects having nothing to do with monument preservation.

Specialists note the low scientific level and quality of restorations. Restoration projects are often undertaken without regard for leading scientists' opinions, execution is poorly monitored. The scientific methodological board set up by the UzSSR Ministry of Culture's Main Administration of National Monuments has been passive. The ministry's specialized organizations base their work criteria on spending volume, which is totally unacceptable in the area of culture: they are more interested in the volume of work and prefer to undertake mainly high-price decoration projects. Meanwhile, urgently needed conservation work at the Ak-Saray and Ishrat-Khan mausoleums in Samarkand, the Kyrkkyz palace in Termez, architectural complexes Toprak Kala in Khorezm Oblast and Koy Krylgan-Kala in Kara-Kalpak ASSR and many other extremely important architectural and historical sites, as well as at archeological sites that are being destroyed, is neglected.

The incompetence of project units working in an area requiring profound and broad knowledge and disregard for the scientific community's opinions, which is particularly intolerable under growing glasnost, often lead to losses of authenticated works during restoration.

The UzSSR Ministry of Culture, the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, and oblast and Tashkent city soviets' ispolkoms have made insufficient use of historical and cultural heritage to improve the moral, patriotic and internationalist education of workers, intensify atheist propaganda and deepen young people's understanding of aesthetics and their land's history. Not enough attention has been paid to promoting historical revolutionary monuments, masterpieces of Soviet architecture and monuments of the labor glory of the Soviet people. The harmful tendency to classify mainly religious cult objects and sites as historical and cultural legacy has not been combatted actively enough.

The work of agencies responsible for providing information and advertising materials to Soviet and foreign tourists and for making popular documentaries, radio and TV programs is inadequate compared to the scale of tourist traffic visiting historical and cultural monuments. The output of picture postcards, booklets, pins and other advertising materials is totally insufficient.

The UzSSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium has termed inadequate the work of the republic's ministries, agencies and local soviet ispolkoms in carrying out the UzSSR legislation on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments.

The Kara-Kalpak ASSR Council of Ministers and oblast and Tashkent soviets' ispolkoms have been asked to intensify their activity to uphold the laws on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments;

- by the end of the current year, they must, together with affiliates of the Monument Protection Society, complete the inspection of historical and cultural monuments on their territory and make sure that they are placed under state protection. Architectural and archeological monuments must be provided with appropriate direction and information signs;
- in the course of 6 months, they must require agencies, organizations and individuals using the land on which sites under state protection are situated to sign monument protection agreements; leasing contracts on structures must also be signed;
- they must disburse the necessary funds and provide materials for structural repairs;
- they must instill in citizens profound respect for the cultural heritage of the people, using it to educate the young generation in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and organizing folk festivals, folk art shows, painting galleries, historical museums, art studios and local history clubs at historical sites.

The UzSSR Ministry of Culture (comrade Umarbekov) has been advised to drastically restructure the work of monument protection entities, directing them to create conditions that would exclude the possibility of damage and loss of monuments, as well as of other violations of the existing law;

- taking into consideration the wishes of the public, it must develop in the next 2 years a long-term plan for the preservation and use of the historical and cultural heritage of Kara-Kalpak ASSR, oblasts and Tashkent; a strict order of restoration for various sites must be established, with priority given to conservation work.

- in cooperation with the Society for Historical and Cultural Monument Preservation, it must develop and implement measures to involve komsomol and trade union organizations, professional and artistic unions and the public in carrying out the program of monument restoration and use;
- together with the UzSSR Komsomol's Central Committee, it must organize special youth crews and student units to carry out restoration work and encourage young people's organizations to take more important monuments under their protection;
- it must make sure that the financial and material resources allocated to restoration and repair projects are spent efficiently. It must effect strict supervision to make sure that no architectural or archeological monument is destroyed during restoration.

The UzSSR Gosagroprom (comrade Kurbanov), UzSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources (comrade Sanaev), UzSSR State Committee for Water Resources Construction (comrade Baymirov) and Main Central Asian Administration for Sovkhoz Irrigation Construction (comrade Tursunov) have been asked to make sure that work in zones adjacent to historical and cultural monuments is conducted according to established rules. They must severely punish officials whose illegal actions cause damage to monuments.

The UzSSR Society for Historical and Cultural Monument Protection (comrade Mukhitdinov) must make workers understand how important the task of protecting historical and cultural heritage is, that it is the legacy of all the people; it must foster in them a sense of being part of the nation's history and a truly Leninist attitude to national legacy from an internationalist point of view. It must also intensify its work of taking care of and cleaning monuments.

The UzSSR Academy of Sciences's Presidium has been asked to consider creating an archeological center in Tashkent and, together with the UzSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, publish a comprehensive catalog of historical and cultural monuments in Uzbekistan by 1995.

The UzSSR State Committees for Television and Radio Broadcasting and for Cinematography, as well as editors of republican and oblast newspapers and magazines, have been directed to publicize more extensively the positive experience and urgent problems of monument protection, restoration and use, and to provide advertising for them.

Law enforcement agencies of the republic have been requested to intensify the struggle against violations of the UzSSR law on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments. Those responsible for destroying, ruining or damaging monuments should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

The UzSSR Council of Ministers has been asked to consider including into the UzSSR state economic and social development plan indicators related to monument restoration and preservation; channeling a share of profits of tourist organizations, including those from foreign tourism, into repairs and restoration of monuments; bolstering the material base of existing restoration enterprises; training qualified restoration artists and workers in the republic; increasing the output of information materials that advertise Uzbekistan's historical and cultural monuments. It should accelerate the development of planned quotas and norms in response to the USSR Council of Ministers' resolution on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments.

12892

**Lakshin Writes Introduction to Zamyatin's 'We'**  
*18000510 Moscow ZNAMYA in Russian No 4, Apr 88*  
*pp 126-130*

[Article by V. Lakshin: "The 'Distopia' of Yevgeny Zamyatin"]

[Text] Almost every famous author produces a book with a title that, more than anything else he writes, serves as a kind of calling card, an identification of his artistic personality. In the case of Yevgeny Ivanovich Zamyatin (1884-1937), who even before the Revolution carved out a name for himself by virtue of the novellas "A Provincial Tale" and "At the World's End," with a four-volume collection of works published by 1929, this calling card takes the form of his novel "We," "my most jesting and most serious work," he was to say.

By 1920, when the author was at work on his novel, he had already experienced a stormy life, one of sharp turns and rapid changes. There were the: childhood in the quiet and provincial Lebedyan, in a noble family of modest means; the Polytechnical Institute in Petersburg; student gatherings; the charge of guncotton given to him by a working-class revolutionary; his arrest and solitary confinement on Shpalernaya; exile from Petersburg. Then his return; the Department of Naval Architecture; ship design and dredge construction, and, at the same time, his first literary success; soon afterward, his trial for an antimilitary story. Next came a challenge to a duel in defense of his honor; his two-year stay in England; construction of ice breakers in English docks; return to revolutionary Russia in 1917 and participation in publishing the "World Literature" and in other cultural undertakings teeming around Gorky.

Incompatible qualities were combined in Zamyatin: This rather reserved skeptic harbored a fever for life's exciting challenge. In the novel "We," one of the few thoughts of the hero relating the story—one which even the author is fully capable of expressing himself—is that "along the knife's edge is the road of paradoxes—the only road worthy of a fearless mind." An eternal rebel, experimenter, and oppositionist, he seemed to derive

pleasure from taking a position that was the opposite of that generally held, and he readily resisted that which was based on power and force. "To be a Bolshevik in those years," he wrote in the beginning of his journey, "meant to travel the road of greatest resistance, and I was then a Bolshevik."

There was also incompatibility in creativity. Schooled in the exact sciences, trained as a naval architect comfortable with engineering drawings and the slide rule, the author turned out to be a devoted servant of artistic writing, in which he sought his fate. Beginning with a figured and ornamental language in the manner of Leskov, in the book "We," the style of which is highly structured and dry, the author seems to be a product of the European intellectual novel tradition. Brought up on the writings of Gogol and Dostoyevsky (echoes of "The Memoirs of a Madman" and "The Demons" leap from the very pages), he was fascinated by the bold imagination of Utopia envisioned by Wells and the fine, elegant skepticism of Anatole France's prose. Deeply Russian, "earthy," nationalistic in his roots, language, and sentiment, Zamyatin was also an accomplished European stylist and free-thinking intellectual. More importantly, in the novel "We" he comes through as one of those persons who are always at odds with the majority and who foment uneasiness. Under any government, and in any environment, they find opportunities to express an unpopular truth, thus distinguishing themselves radically from odists and singers of soothing songs, one of whom appears in the book as a State Poet.

The novel "We" is of the dystopia genre, that is, it contrasts a fairy tale type story of a happy future for mankind with a skeptical, gloomy plot. The world's literature is familiar with a large number of utopias and distopias, from Plato and Thomas More to E. Cabet and W. Howells. But Zamyatin revived this style, the satirical Utopia of the 20th century, when the technical and social specters of the latest stage of civilization entered a race with the boldest of imaginations. His lead would be followed by Aldous Huxley and his "Brave New World" (1932), the more venomous and refined George Orwell with his "Animal Farm" (1945) and "1984" (1949), and by Ray Bradbury and our Strugatskys. It is possible to imagine a cleverer piece of fiction and a wittier plot set in this style, of course, but there will never be another book to equal the one written by Zamyatin, since his was the first.

The reader of the novel "We" is introduced to a strange but darkly recognizable world of a thousand years in the future, one separated from all living things by a Glass Wall. It is the world of the One State, highly efficient and controlled to the nth degree, a world of uniformity and unfreedom, a world without love, without poetry, without science, without personality, without a soul. It is a world of slavery, one creating the illusion of happiness, a consequence of total atrophy of the will of the citizens,

who blindly entrust their fate to the One State, essentially to a single person—the Benefactor. It is a world of mathematical formulas and numbers, which have replaced words.

For low life there were numbers  
For cattle and subjugated animals.  
With all shades of meaning  
Given by the clever numbers,

wrote Zamyatin's contemporary N. Gumilev. Similarly, in the novel "We" words are replaced by numbers to such an extent that people are referred to by number rather than name: D-503 is the "number" of the main hero, a bit of tragic clairvoyance of the author which hinted at a concentration camp of the future that was to become a reality.

In the book, which creates a generalized and frightening picture of a mechanical, barracks-like future, it would be naive to look for a real-life target of his lampooning, to try to see a hint or system of hints aimed at a particular country or social structure. That which dismayed, disgusted, and troubled Zamyatin relative to the possible future of mankind has seen the light of day even in our recent memory in various forms and in various locations of the globe. This deserves mention, since in a discussion of "We" there are two contrasting opinions in our country and in other countries. One holds that everything Zamyatin wrote was based on developmental trends peculiar to the bourgeois world, by what the author saw in industrial England, during his two years in London, at the docks of Newcastle and South Shields; in this light, the "we" are "they." The other opinion states that everything portrayed in the novel is intended to be a criticism of the new revolutionary reality, of socialism in the true sense of the word, and, as such, the "we" are actually "we"—no one else. In this connection, the text as viewed from a later point in time provides a basis for a more complete and accurate interpretation.

If one is to approach the subject from the standpoint of the psychology of creativity, there is no doubt that the "concrete, asphalt, petroleum, mechanical country" that horrified him in London and which he described in "Islanders" could have provided the author with food for thought relative to his Utopia. Incidentally, Dostoyevsky also derived his polemic picture of the "Crystal Palace" of the future from his impressions of England. The rigidly efficient organization of work and accompanying exploitation existing at the beginning of the 20th century paved the way for the then-popular system of Taylorism (so named after its founder—the American engineer F. W. Taylor), a word used at least three times in the novel. The author foresaw a highly mechanized world of new production slaves long before the epoch of robots and computers, while in the young Soviet republic "Taylorism" found strong support, particularly in the "General Organizational Science" of A. A. Bogdanov and in the works of A. K. Gastev.

There is no doubt, however, that the picture painted by the novelist also bears some relationship to his skeptical ruminations on the ways of the new society which he personally saw stirring while living in Petrograd. He wrote the novel at the high point of the "militant Communism" era, which supplied Zamyatin with material for his reflections on the dangers of barracks-like socialism in the then semiliterate country where powerful remnants of "Asian influence" still existed.

The utopian novel, or, more accurately, utopian satire, was at the same time a novel of warning. Looking one thousand years into the future, Zamyatin in an imaginary and fabled form tells the reader about what compounded his fears and about his premonition of danger.

I has been almost three-quarters of a century since the novel was written. The future of one thousand years is far off, but we have seen something of that which the author imagined, for he did not take into account the processes of historical acceleration operating in the 20th century. This refers to the science fiction future as portrayed by the author, who described the space ship "Integral," which is similar to the Shuttle or our space ships, although the details are naive and reminiscent of an ancient steamship: a "pilot's cabin," "slow speed," "two sterns." The "petroleum food" foreseen by Zamyatin reminds the reader of the synthetic "black caviar" advocated by Academician Nesmeyanov, etc. However, of much greater importance are the author's rare snippings at social targets, such as the "Gas Chamber," which is reminiscent of the atrocious invention devised under Hitlerism. And, alas! Something of which we have first-hand knowledge: demonstrations arranged in honor of the Benefactor; elections held on the Day of Unanimity with the results known beforehand; total submission to a single will; observation by the unseen "Guardians," etc. Even a gloomy detail such as the victory over hunger in the One State won by subjecting a part of the population to starvation may be considered as a sad prophesy of the hunger suffered in 1932-1933 in the Ukraine.

Is there any doubt about whether the author had a clear idea of how to write this novel, or if he somehow missed the point, or exaggerated or minimized the danger? The "pink coupons" issued to obtain a partner for sexual days or the transparent glass walls of houses which did not permit the inhabitants to escape observation even for a moment have not appeared - thank goodness! - anywhere in the real world. This cannot be demanded of the novel, however, which deals with hyperbolized forms and satirical exaggerations.

What wonderful power inspired Zamyatin to foresee so much? Whence come these clairvoyants at times in art, or, to use a lofty phrase, whence come these mournful prophets? If one is not to bring mysticism into the picture, the explanation is fairly simple: the intuition and mind of the artist permit him to see the future - whether happy or unhappy - in its incipency during his time. In a sense, the present always consists of two

times—the past and future—with one flowing into the other, but the vast majority of people does not see or realize this, in their mindless surrender to the flow of life. For them, the past, future, and present are separated by sturdy partitions. An alert mind and vivid imagination ("The flora and fauna found on a desk are much richer than people realize...", remarked Zamyatin) are able to discern at least some features of the distant future, which are shining dimly through the mist of the present and rejoice or become afraid. Zamyatin is afraid. The Cassandra-like author weaves his instructive tale in a state of alarm over the future of mankind and of his country, giving warnings of mistakes. The matter reduces to which point of view to adopt: agitation over what is prophesied; folly on the part of a misanthrope; or a voluntary or involuntary step in the difficult matter of constructing a new world? Or should we look upon his book as a labor of someone who is grieving, a warning given by a will-wisher and ally? In that case we owe a debt of gratitude to the author instead of feeling irritation and reproach. (In like manner, we are indebted to an epidemiologist who points out the danger of spreading a disease and who isolates a virus; we certainly would not curse him for his warning, even if we do not fall victim to the disease.)

It goes without saying that antisocialist propaganda could use (and did use) Zamyatin's novel to further its ends, just as it did to an even greater extent with Orwell's novels. However, is there any useful thing which can escape abuse? Of course, every tale—and Zamyatin's fantasy is indeed a tale and not a very good-natured one at that—does offer a "lesson for all you lads to learn." However, becoming angry at a story which is devoid of a cheerful tone does not mean that it must become a part of us, for this would mean that the author's anxiety has accomplished its purpose. On the contrary, freedom from feelings of guilt and fear and a forthright and healthy attitude toward the author's fantasy are signs of strength and confidence in oneself; let us lend an attentive ear to the gloomy warning without becoming overwhelmed.

The above wisdom was unfortunately lacking in Zamyatin's contemporaries. When "We" was published in 1924 in a number of foreign editions without the author's consent, the writer was subjected to an increasing barrage of criticism in the press, which in the early 30s turned into downright persecution. This forced him to emigrate from the USSR. Permission to leave was granted as a result of a letter Zamyatin wrote to I. V. Stalin in 1931. Soon afterward, his friend Mikhail Bulgakov bid him goodbye forever at the Belorusskiy Railroad Station. Life in a foreign country did nothing to further the flowering of Zamyatin's artistic gift; he died five years later in Paris, without adding noticeably to the glory of his pen with the few pages he produced far from his homeland. For his roots were in Russia, but more so, in the Revolution, which he wanted to help by means of his penetrating writings.

A sardonic old folk saying demands: "Give us not squabblers, but pleasant workers, instead." Zamyatin was not a "pleasant worker"; he liked to squabble and was not averse to recklessly go against the grain of the reader's "disposition." He could not be pleasant to the man in the street, to one who hungers for peace and quiet above all, to one who seeks tranquility and takes solace in the thought that no matter how capricious history may be, everything will turn out for the best in this, the best of all worlds.

However, there is another way out—struggling against evil, which Zamyatin also includes in his fictional sketch. The picture of a future totalitarian world would be hopelessly bleak if it were not for people's attempts to break out. For beyond the Green Wall, which holds the city-state in isolation, there exists a forested area where life goes on in a disorderly manner, nature continues to provide birds, flowers, and grass, and people do not feel that they are slaves. It is difficult to kill human passions completely, and in the city a plot dear to the heart of Zamyatin—the old rebel—to dislodge the Benefactor is ripening. The fact that the source of the revolt, just as of all life on the earth, is a woman, and that the stimulus for

the hero's enlightenment is—the same as an unexpected burst of atavism—"ancient" love, is of course no accident. While the end of the novel is tragic—the remnants of active protest, the fantasy, are cut out of the subdued hero—the author still believes that as long as the soul, mind, and creativity are alive, no mechanical, totalitarian system can become a total master of the world. Also, there is always hope for its destruction and for the final triumph of genuinely human values—love, freedom, creativity.

Following Bulgakov and Platonov back into our literature and into the social and cultural consciousness is Yevgeny Zamyatin. Looking backward, we can understand how much richer we have become with the presence of the ranks of these brilliant names of Russian prose. We have become...

This, incidentally, is when the pronoun "we" rings out without any irony; it is even touched with pride.

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13005

**USSR Health Minister Chazov on Perestroika in Public Health Service**  
*18300363 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 2*

[Interview by Z. Yeroshok and S. Leskov with Academician Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, USSR Minister of Health, under the "Tomorrow is Medical Workers' Day" rubric: "What is Your Complaint, Doctor?"; time and place not given]

[Text] It seems that until quite recently, when the topic of our medicine came up, the speaker's voice would be trembling with joy. And what figures they cited! They were spell-binding: first place in the world in the number of doctors, and first in the number of hospital beds. In the VUZ's lectures were delivered on the topic, "Health Care in the USSR—A New and Higher Stage in the Development of World Medicine." It is true, that experience—that sobering criterion of truth—has given rise to traitorous doubts: sick people were lying in the corridors; doctors did not disdain to accept bribes; and in places where one would expect people to be burning with envy for the best medicine in the world, hearts were being transplanted routinely, babies being developed in test-tubes, and other wonders were singled out.

And here recently, disheartening figures were made public, which confirm one's worst fears. In the 1970's the average longevity in the USSR began to decline steadily; by 1984 we were living 10 years less than, for example, the Japanese. During the period in which our successes were being shouted, infant mortality fell to a rate six-tenths higher than that of Barbados and the United Arab Emirates...

It has become obvious that our medicine must be healed immediately.

[Question] Which directions in the restructuring of health care seem the most important to you?

[Answer] We've achieved our first but thus far very modest successes. Our cadre had grown old, and we had to replace our deputy ministers and chiefs of administrations. Our material base is being strengthened. In planning we are making the transition from gross indicators, which are capable of doing harm in medicine as well—the infamous bed-days and number of polyclinic visits—in favor of analyses in terms of final results. Nor are we ignoring the processes in health care going on around the world. (Until recently we had been zealously and indefatigably ignoring these processes.) There have been fundamental changes from the ruinous habit (no, not a habit—a disease, and that's for sure!), when in deed and not in words (with words, during the epoch of stagnation we could not have done so well)—we in medicine used to think least of all of "unified services," that is, of a finite, specific, individual person; of how he is doing in the hospital; of how he is being treated. Perestroika of health care is a comprehensive process;

one must not neglect a single link; everything, absolutely everything is important; it can be no otherwise, or else the entire chain will collapse.

[Question] s the popular saying goes, "Health is lost by the bushel, and is gained by the thimble." Unfortunately, for a long time the importance of preventive medicine and early diagnosis has only been proclaimed for effect. How are things now?

[Answer] There are plans to create a network of diagnostic centers in the country. Several are already in operation, and during this five-year plan the number will reach 25. Centralization of diagnostic services must become the rule—this will simplify solving the problem of expensive diagnostic equipment.

Preventive medicine is an important problem, but it is not so much a medical problem as it is a social one. Propagating a healthy lifestyle will remain a hollow noise if society and the state do not take up the cause. Preventive medicine is one of the main health-care principles in the leading countries of the world; for, almost 4.0 percent of all health-care expenditures abroad go for preventive medicine, and the results are very, very encouraging: there is real growth in longevity, and we are speaking precisely of "healthy longevity." Currently, in Leningrad, Kemerovo and Kuybyshev Oblasts, an experiment is in progress on placing health-care on a cost-accounting basis. Every polyclinic is allocated funds and can spend them as it wishes. They are authorized, for example, to send a person to a sanatorium or for rehabilitation. But the principal indicator is considered the health of the populace in the region entrusted to it. Funds saved by virtue of insurance are being transferred from the trade-union banks to health-care institutions. And a doctor who does good work stands to double his wages.

[Question] However, these are, alas, still only separate experiments, and not a special-purpose program; meanwhile, both abroad, and particularly in Japan, and among the socialist countries as well—the GDR and Cuba, it is largely thanks to those very preventive health programs that longevity is increasing.

[Answer] A comprehensive program for preventing illnesses does exist in our country. Seventy departments, including Minzdrav [USSR Ministry of Public Health] are answerable for this program. But at times one gets the impression that not all departments have heard of (!) this program. Construction of preventive clinics, stadiums, acquisition of medical equipment—are short-sightedly stunted for such things. It is also worthwhile thinking about conducting regular, preventive medical examinations, paid for by the enterprises. But, alas, we have many things that should be for the masses but remain elitist, not for everyone but for the chosen. And you see it is sometimes a question of very elementary things, although they are vitally necessary.

The health-care situation for the citizens of the country is serious. One of the most serious is the problem of formulating a healthy life style for the children and adolescents, when "the foundation is laid for the entire organism." The statistics here are simply devastating: 2,500 people seriously afflicted with alcoholism and 4,500 seriously addicted to narcotics and toxic substance abuse in the country have not yet reached 16 years of age. These, please note, are those who have been accounted for. Surveys at Moscow vocational-technical schools have shown that 70 percent of the young men and 74 percent of the young women use alcohol. The stupefying effects of narcotics are familiar to 22 percent of the students at vo-tech schools, and 15 percent of college students. By the seventh grade, from 42 to 74 percent of the school pupils have acquired some experience with drinking, and from 5 to 15 percent have tried narcotics and stupefying substances. Among the young, cigarettes and shot glasses continue to be fashionable. All of us together must create a new fashion—for beauty and health. We hope a magazine entitled, "Health, Good Spirits, and Beauty," will help the cause; the question of its publication is currently being resolved.

[Question] A.B. Maksimov from Vladimir Oblast writes: "Minzdrav will hardly establish a law on punishing physicians for malpractice. After all, at present everyone tries to work in such a way that he's not answerable for anything. And medics are no exception." And yet another letter on this subject: "Guilty doctors do not always receive punishment. Many of the victims do not complain in general, since they know full well that the appropriate punishment will not be dealt out anyway. There is no such law. How can one know; perhaps the lawlessness will even lead to the Soviet doctors forgetting their oath?"

[Answer] No, Minzdrav is unable to control negligence by doctors. During the past year about one-third of the physicians have undergone attestation—that's 350,000 doctors. More than 30,000 (In all of pre-revolutionary Russia there were not so many doctors) were certified conditionally, and about a thousand were removed from their work. It has been decided that VUZ graduates with poor knowledge and an inability to carry out the most widespread emergency operations (for example, assisting in childbirth), are given physician-assistant's diplomas. We hope that these measures will raise the prestige of the profession of medicine in the eyes of the public, which has endured so many bitter pills.

One of the punitive measures introduced against physicians is revocation of one's doctoral diploma for a period of three years. Such decisions are taken by the VAK [Higher Attestation Commission] at Minzdrav, which is under the chairmanship of Academician F.I. Komarov of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. He is a Hero of Socialist Labor, a military man, a stern man—and what is more important, he is not subordinate to us. But just to punish is not enough.

The problem of professional selection for medical VUZ's is a very serious one. How is one to discern among the young people selfless and gifted physicians? We must establish a system of early medical professional orientation and commence work on organization of specialized classes and schools. And such classes already exist, although for now they are few. I am convinced that elementary school pupils should be permitted to work in hospitals, as student nurses, for example.

We have been unable to establish a single (!) cooperative for caring for the sick. This is very hard work—the work of a hospital nurse; it is caring work... And people are not coming in to empty chamber pots, to stand watch at night, or to help the sick people out of their trouble.

[Question] L. Rakityanskaya from Stavropol writes to the editors: "Of late the question of paid medicine is raised more and more often. They say, 'What you don't have to pay can't be any good.' It's no secret to anyone that young medical personell take money even for giving shots. What's more, the doctors themselves do not disdain to do this. A prescription for medicines in short supply can be had for a certain bribe. But even then one can't get them. This is the seamy side of free medical services." How do you relate to this problem?

[Answer] According to the results of surveys which we have conducted, only two percent of the public is in favor of paid medicine. Nevertheless, we are proposing expansion of paid polyclinics to one percent of the overall number, and in Central Asia a bit more.

As far as the future is concerned, thus far no increase in paid services is planned.

One must not forget that hardly any of us have the means to pay for a consultation with a professor.

No, no, no. We will not abandon free medicine. Free medicine is the greatest gain of socialism.

[Question] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, for some time we have been shamefully averting our eyes when the subject of finances and medicine came up. But in our time of economic reform, the conspiracy of silence has been broken. Something has brought about the brilliant success of certain doctors who managed to harness both healing and economic innovation to the same chariot. We hope, therefore, that our question will not seem demeaning. Does the material base for health care satisfy you, as minister? The wages of the doctors were increased, but the sick people, forgive me, did not get better. And is that not why our readers are demanding other measures? "We must set up a young mothers' fund, the assets from which would be used for improving the material support to maternity homes, and medical services to infants and to the newborn," writes P. Osipov, a student at MVTU [Moscow Order of Lenin and Order of Labor Red Banner Higher Technical School imeni N.E. Bauman]. "How

**long will we keep destroying ourselves? Why is there such a lack of maternity homes? Open a bank account and tell us the number!"** writes G. Gordienko, 21, a student from Moscow.

[Answer] Last summer I visited the well-known Komso-mol building project—BAM. The train station at the capital city Tynda, made of aluminum and granite, received first prize out there among the remote villages. If people from abroad were shown that central rayon hospital... They bring water in by the barrel, and there are no waste water facilities. But you see almost half the medical facilities in the country are without water mains and drains...

During every shift 5,000,000 people are received in the country's polyclinics. These figures had been carefully hidden in the past. Why? I don't know. Perhaps because of the fact that behind them stands the reality of which it was considered impolite to speak. For example, what about these 5,000,000 people who come to the polyclinics; there are very few toilets, and they are located somewhere far, far away out in the yard; and if a person came, for example, to have x-rays made of his stomach, and then has to urgently run through the snow... To speak of it is impolite; but is it polite to put up with something like this?

By the early 1980's appropriations for medicine comprised only four percent of the state budget. This is catastrophically small. As practical experience in progressive countries indicates, twice as much is required. What has this led to? Twenty-one percent of rural hospitals were situated in adapted accommodations. More than half the medical institutions have no hot water, nor plumbing. The sanitary norm per bed is seven square meters; we have on the average only 4.3 meters. The cost per bed is 15,000 rubles; whereas in Czechoslovakia for example it is 80,000.

Appropriations for health care are to be increased two-fold.

In the current five-year plan, an additional 5.4 billion rubles has been allocated. In the 13th Five Year Plan financing will exceed 36 billion rubles for construction, and for health-care another 25 billion.

Nourishment norms in hospitals are to be increased from 1 to 1.5 rubles per day, and for medicine from 3 to 5 rubles. By the year 2000 we plan to build hospitals with 1.4 million beds, and reconstruct facilities for another million.

Of course, in our time we have clearly underestimated the role of various funds, setting all our hopes on the state, endlessly demanding it to give, while at the same time almost every division of ministries of health abroad had access to some kind of fund. For example, a fund for assisting mothers and infants, a fund for helping old people, a fund for aid to the homeless, and so on. There

is a great multitude of variants to give people the opportunity to wisely and purposefully spend their own money, perhaps not much, but to give something for philanthropic ends. Here our philanthropy was not only not viewed with disrespect—it was forbidden. This comes as a surprise to no one now. But funds, in my view, are badly needed. And the greater, the more variations, the better.

As far as obstetrics and pediatric medicine are concerned, their situation remains just about as difficult today.

In Moscow out of 30 maternity homes, only 16 meet modern requirements. From the entire budget for health care, only 4.0 percent of investments have gone to pediatric medicine. Now 15 percent is being spent. In the 13th Five Year Plan no less than 40 percent will be spent. But even that 40 percent is not enough, for Central Asia for example. Even today, for Central Asia, we should allocate 50, 60 and even 70 percent of the budget for pediatric medicine. Judge for yourselves. Central Asian maternity homes are overcrowded by a factor of two to three. And then there are such problems as private births among the women of Central Asia. From a medical point of view, after giving birth a mother must restore her strength. As they say, "A longed-for child—at the desired time." But when a woman is breast-feeding one child and then becomes pregnant with another at the very same time—this cannot help but have an effect on her health.

Where do we see the way out? The policy toward such an important sector as maternity assistance must be differentiated. Minzdrav has worked out a regional program. As far as infant mortality is concerned, the country is divided into three regions. The first—Central Asia—has over 30 deaths per 1,000 births. The second—Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Georgia and Moldavia—has from 20 to 30 deaths per 1,000 births. And the third, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and certain Oblasts of the RSFSR has fewer than 20 deaths per 1,000 births. But we are particularly hindered by the uniform standard for pediatricians and midwives. At the same time that the proportion of children in the population structure varies, from 500 children per 1,000 adults in Central Asia, down to only 200 in the Baltic Littoral. We are continuing to proceed not from life, but from papers. And the several thousand norms in effect in health care in some situations teem together with mutually-canceling variants, and in other situations they are uniform, firm and unshakable, as if out of spite to reality itself.

You are aware that last summer we sent out teams of doctors and nurses from throughout the Union to help at maternity houses and children's hospitals in Central Asia. And we shall do this again. We have actively linked up with the Children's Fund. However, here we have to change the principles of our approach. Above all we must finally look the truth in the eye. Or else we will be all for criticism in words, but in deeds "afraid to upset the people."



Even today Minzdrav can do little in proud solitude. But Minzdrav will become strong, if society and the state will support it; if a situation is created in the country wherein various types of state functionaries will not be enjoying such privileges as they do now; and these functionaries will not be the ones who make the decisions for the people, what they the people are allowed to know about them and what they are not allowed to know. And our people must know everything about themselves. You want examples? Fine. That all the programs, every one, on sex education for elementary school children collapsed, and we do not know what will happen here. That in our country we have 3,000 births by women under 16 years of age. Over three years the number of abortions among women up to 17 years of age increased by 9.3 percent. And there has been a significant increase in the number of abortions performed outside a hospital—23 percent. That at the very same time that the entire civilized world was showing concern for its women, supplying them with birth control pills and almost eliminating the trouble of abortions, we are the leaders in the number of abortions, and is this really valorous? Presently we have given permission for mini-abortions (up to 28 days into the pregnancy), which reduces complications by a factor of six. But of course, we also need pills; and much, much more concern for the women; concern in which we have fallen deeply, deeply into debt to the women.

I am an optimist. And although the health-care situation in the country is still alarming, I am convinced that we will be able to not simply correct the situation, but once again gain the leading position in the world. After all, right up to the end of the 1960's domestic medicine was not in such a pathetic state, and it was precisely the years of stagnation that dealt it tangible harm. And therefore, today perestroyka in health care is very closely associated with perestroyka of our society as a whole. We must not divide ourselves into the sick and the physicians, the people and the doctors; but together heal medicine of the many illnesses, from which it still suffers today, in order not to catch them again tomorrow.

09006

**Conditions in Homes for Elderly Deplored**  
*18300418 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 27,*  
*2-9 Jul 88 pp 27-29*

[Article by Aleksandr Nevskiy, with photos by Yuriy Kozyrev: "Alone in the Old Age..."; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Charity Fund that is being created in this country is indispensable not only to those who need charity but to those who, by being charitable, better both the world and themselves in it. How important it is to have no forgotten people, i.e., those who pass away alone which is demeaning for them and for us.

It is a 20-minute walk to the intersection of 16th Parkovaya Street and Sirenevyy Boulevard. I walked briskly, paying no attention to grandmothers with little kids or an elderly man with a cane waiting by the schoolbuilding entrance. I walked past a group of elderly men and women who had taken up their noontime positions at the liquor store. I paid them no attention. But later, on the way back, returning from my visit to the building at the intersection, I would look at those elderly people with different eyes.

"Complaint to A.S.Kvartalnyi, director, territorial center for social services No.1, from resident G.V.Samoylov, disabled 1st group, chairman of the culture and everyday life commission:

"On December 2 of this year, at 4:00 p.m., I was asked to investigate a conflict on the fifth floor arising from the loss of 2 roubles 50 kopeks in room 171. No theft was discovered; it turned out that the woman living there had hidden the money under the bed sheet and forgot about it. By the elevator, I was approached by resident K.A.Smuryakova who asked me to take the temperature of her neighbor A.N.Khokhlova. I checked the thermometer: it showed 38.5 degrees. I asked the patient why she had not called L.A.Nesterovskaya, the floor physician. She replied: 'What's the use? She gives no help, only yells and is rude.' At that point A.A.Levitskaya came up to us and said that I was butting into things that were none of my business and threatened to show me my place. I, however, know my place as chairman of the culture and everyday life commission very well myself.

"Due to the fact that Dr.Levitskaya had not filled out the documents in time, we did not receive our pensions for 2 months.

"It is painful to hear how rudely some medical personnel talk to patients: 'Ready for the cemetery yet, grandma?' or 'When are you going to die, old man?'

"Old people are afraid to answer back. But how can you treat living people like this?"

The nurse was nowhere in sight and the author of this complaint, social assistance recipient Samoylov (as those who live here are called) and I sat in the lobby of the nursing home for the elderly and disabled, which was recently renamed Moscow city territorial center No.1 for providing services to disabled war and labor veterans.

Guriy Vasilyevich put one crutch down next to him and tapped on the floor with the other as he went on with his tale:

"They do not pay us any attention, you see. They do not want to. Our commission is a public organization invested with rights and powers. Yet, the home's administration tells us all the time: 'Mind your own business.'"

The muscles on his still-youthful face were tense and he looked younger than his 55 years: dark hair, not a wrinkle under the eyes, and if it were not for his legs... The legs gave out under this former geologist-explorer before he was 40. It was the result of his "years in the swamp" and of an emotional trauma: in one year Guriy Vasilyevich lost his wife, mother and two close relatives. He lost everything. This is how his travails began: not in the fields but in one nursing home after another, and not with a hoe but with a pair of crutches.

He showed me other requests and complaints addressed to the home's director and chief physician and to the city and rayon social services departments, written by himself and other residents of the home:

"I think that the OBKhSS [Department for Combatting Theft of Socialist Property] and the people's inspection entities should look into how we are fed and clothed. Send your operatives and you will see that every day our cooks and other personnel carry out shopping bags filled with food through the back door. Check the work of the warehouse: we get second-hand clothing instead of new, with different labels sewn on it..."

"For a full year there has been no toilet paper in the home and we have not been given any handkerchiefs..."

"Wait a second. What replies did you get to these complaints?" I asked returning the papers to Samoylov.

"We did not even send them," he said with a sigh.

"Why not?"

"Because. You do not know the situation here. If we sent out the complaints, they would harass and persecute us. We have to live here." He waved his hand. "The situation is the same in all nursing homes, really. We are practically helpless and they do to us whatever they want: they insult us, yell at us, may not change bed linens—they can do anything."

And this was a former geologist, an explorer who had traversed half of Russia, a representative of one of the toughest professions. What could have happened during those years of travel from home to home to change his personality so much and to make his eyes so helpless and easily frightened?

"Quiet, please, quiet," asked me Guriy Vasilyevich putting a finger to his lips and casting a glance along the long hallway. A woman approximately 50 years of age appeared there, making much noise with her high heels. That was the nurse on duty, Mariya Vladimirovna.

"And who are you, as a matter of fact?" she asked without returning my greeting and boring me through with her eyes. "What gives you the right to be here? I

know nothing about any journalists. We have the same rules for all visitors: visiting hours are twice weekly, Wednesdays 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. and Saturdays 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.

To my request to call the physician on duty Mariya Vladimirovna replied by pointing me the door. When I tried to mention the information I had received at the republican Ministry of Social Services about free access, she started nervously to dial a number, apparently to the police.

"Mashenka, please, let me talk to the man," Guriy Vasilyevich begged the impregnable nurse. "Be human for once."

"We are human, it's you who aren't," cut him Mariya Vladimirovna.

Still, Samoylov managed to persuade her to let me stay another half hour, swearing that we would not take a step outside the lobby.

The lobby was a cozy place: it had soft furniture, a television set and art reproductions on the walls. Residents were continually crossing it, going past us.

"This is our retired colonel; an formidable man, I swear," commented Guriy Vasilyevich. "Every single day he telephones his old office at the central committee of a trade union or some construction organizations. His own daughter has not been to see him for 8 years, ever since she put him here. This is Grandma Lyuda, a very kind woman; she has not a soul in the world: her husband and son both died in the war. See that man in a beret by the elevator? It is Mikhalych. His son and daughter-in-law brought him here some 4 years ago, claiming that he was a 'single neighbor gone crazy.' They have not been here once since then."

At first I was surprised how calmly this former geologist was telling me about people so badly mistreated by life, about old people abandoned by their children and families. Later, I realized that the home's residents completely lack anger: they not only bear no grudge but try to find excuses for those who placed them there.

"And this is our diplomat in his 'Zhiguli' [Soviet car make]," pointed Guriy Vasilyevich at a youthful, broad-shouldered man who got out of the elevator in a wheel chair.

"Hello, Nikolay Ivanovich," he greeted the man. "Going into town today?"

"No, I am not. Maybe only to buy newspapers," replied Nikolay Ivanovich rather gloomily and rolled on along the hallway.

"Why did you call him a diplomat?" I asked.

"He did work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for nearly 10 years, as a diplomatic courier. He is a very

interesting man. He has been to every continent, and more than once, can you imagine?" Then, he added: "He is in poor spirits this week: they were going to put him in the hospital for his disability, but it has been postponed until the end of the year, and now he is upset. And his daughter Natasha has not visited him for a while."

"He does not have anyone else?"

"Why not? He has an older son, Volodya, but he now lives in a different oblast. There is also a younger son, Andrey, he returned from Afghanistan last fall. I do not know what happened, but he has been to see his father only once."

Once, Nikolay Ivanovich, back from a business trip to southern Africa, had decided to spend his short vacation with his children, outside Moscow. One day he took the kids for a swim in the pond. There, he saw a girl who was drowning and instantly jumped in. The rest he recalled as though in a fog: tremendous pain and screams of his children leaning over him. It turned out that in the water he hit some sort of a pile, then, nearly unconscious, pushed the girl toward the shore and then everything went dark. He came to in the hospital. The doctors told him. "Be brave, Nikolay, you will have to spend at least 10 years in bed." For nearly a year he was in the hospital, completely immobile. Then he lived at home for several more years, until his wife suggested: "Maybe you should spend some time at a special home, Nikolay? Think of the kids." "Fine," he nodded. "Apply for divorce."

Nikolay Ivanovich has been here, in the nursing home, for more than 10 years. It took enormous strength and willpower to overcome immobility. He did exhausting daily exercises. Very slowly, little by little, a shoulder came back to life, then fingers began to move. A year later Mataraev could sit; in another 2 years he could do chin-ups on a homemade bar placed above his bed. Afterwards, he repaired an old wheelchair and began "riding out," as he called it.

When several years later his former wife came to visit him ("without an invitation") and saw Nikolay Ivanovich doing his exercises, she began to cry: "Kolya, I'm so happy for you," she said.

He turned away to the wall and said nothing. Was he hurt? Insulted? No, it was a different feeling. Imagine a man in his prime with neither a home (they took away his residence permit) nor a family (of his three children, only the daughter comes to visit him with her new husband). Once Nikolay Ivanovich was no longer registered with the party organization at his old job, former co-workers immediately forgot the way to Sirenevyy Boulevard. Yet, amazingly, Nikolay Ivanovich has not lost his determination:

"You know, I won't give up," he told me. "I feel strong enough and I believe that in 2 or 3 years I will begin to stand up. I only wish the doctors would help me!"

But the doctors from the city hospital No.6, where such disabilities are treated, do not seem to be in any hurry to help him: Nikolay Ivanovich's scheduled hospitalization was pushed back nearly 8 months. Of course, one can not blame them: he is not alone in need this treatment. But you must agree that this man, by his whole life and his current condition, has earned the right to special attention and human support, I think.

It is very hard to judge, and especially condemn people. Yet, there are things that one cannot see calmly, for one's heart and conscience militate against it: it is lonely old people with living children.

Olga Ivanovna B., a decorated mother of seven and a labor veteran, was put to the home by her sons and daughters. Not one of them had a spare corner for her or wished to care of the aged mother. And only after she was featured on the television show "Good Evening Moscow" one of her daughters showed up and complained: "Why did you do it to us, Mother? If you want, you can stay with me while I'm on vacation." Such is life, people say.

"One day, a very well-dressed woman came here and brought an old woman," recalled deputy director of the nursing home Nina Yakovlevna Aleksandrova. "She introduced her as a single neighbor, filled out the papers and left. Later, it turned out that this was her mother-in-law, the mother of her husband, a general. There are plenty of similar cases: 90 percent of the old people living here have children or close relatives. They put them here on a slightest excuse, to keep them from 'burdening their lives' or 'spoiling the landscape.'"

Is this also life?

Anatoliy Vasilyevich A., a war veteran and a former airplane designer, has not received a single visit in 13 years from his son Yuriy, who has a master's degree in technical sciences. His adopted daughter Mariya, a doctor, has never come to visit her stepfather who suffered two heart attacks. And yet he loved her as his own, raised her and gave her an education.

His son asked Aleksandr Petrovich Z., retired business manager at the "Mosfilm" movie studios, to leave his apartment to his granddaughter, who was about to get married. "Father, think of the young people's happiness." The father thought about it and signed the apartment, where he had lived his whole life, over to the newlywed. And in 3 years neither the son nor the granddaughter have found time to visit the old man. Is this life? You will not wish such life even on an enemy: to be left alone in an old age while the children are living, and to end the days in a charitable institution, pardon my expression. And yet, these are mostly affluent people

and another mouth would not have burdened them too much. Old people do not even require financial support: they can feed themselves on their pension.

I found out at the nursing home that out of the 610 residents nearly 150 old and disabled persons get no attention whatsoever from their children or close relatives. Those tenderly loving sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters have forgotten them completely or remember them only sporadically. Seventeen old people who died last year were buried at the state's expense, even though according to their passports they had children.

This is a tragedy, a true tragedy of our society, that old people who have living children must live and, what is most horrible, die alone. If we allow this, what is happening to us? Who are we after that?

Across the street from the nursing home stands a standard 12-story highrise apartment building; in the courtyard, grandmothers walk with their grandchildren and old pensioners sit on the bench by the entrance discussing world events and family business and complaining about today's young people. This is life, too.

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**Aid to Families with Several Children Inadequate**  
18300390 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 26,  
25 Jun-2 Jul 88 pp 18-20

[Interview with S.I. Golod, Ph.D. Philosophy, Senior Research Scientist at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Social and Economic Problems, by Svetlana Sidorova: "Family with Several Children Reflected in Figures"; first paragraph is a boldface, underlined introduction]

[Text] Stern and omniscient statistics claim that in the USSR the share of large families, i.e., those with four or more children, is minuscule, accounting for less than 7 percent of the total. Yet, those families pay the price for the rest of us who pamper our only child and have a deadly fear of a chorus of voices, noise, running noses, screams, sleepless nights and early wrinkles. The price they pay is often very steep. A group of Leningrad researchers headed by Sergey Isaevich Golod, Ph.D. in Philosophy, senior researcher at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Social and Economic Problems, has recently concluded a broad and thorough study of the large family. The statistical data for Leningrad reflected union-wide and regional changes in family structure and revealed the true state of the large urban family.

[Question] Sergey Isaevich, let us first define the term large family.

[Answer] In Leningrad, we studied families with four or more children, even though in today's demographic environment, taking into account our living conditions, even a family with three children is considered large. Our criterium, however, was a fourth child. It turned out that nearly one half of the families in the study was limited to 4 or 5 children. Only 13 percent of the sample risked having a sixth child, and very few—3-to-5 percent—were brave enough to increase the family further. All together, the city had 2,600 large families.

[Question] For a city with 5 million inhabitants it is a drop in the ocean. It would seem that at the current level of economic development in our country, those families would live contentedly and be well provided for economically. However, the conclusion of your researchers is extremely sad: "The large family in Leningrad lives in miserable material and living conditions. This can not help but be reflected in educational and cultural opportunities for its members." Please explain what is behind these words.

[Answer] Let us look at an average family's budget. Usually, a mother of several children earns 60-to-80 rubles. Why? Nearly a quarter of those women did not graduate from secondary school and did not get any vocational training. This is despite our compulsory secondary education. More than one half of those among them who are in the labor force are classified as ordinary workers. Moreover, half of the women prefer sectors with flexible, as opposed to fixed, work schedules. In other words, they mainly work as street sweepers and office cleaners. It is clear that the mother's contribution to the family budget can not be in any way significant. In a family with both parents present, the head as well as the sole financial mainstay is the father. This is especially true since in 1 out of every 5 married families the mother is a housewife. The average head of the family earns 205-to-210 rubles per month, which is close to average for workers and office employees. But let us not forget that 11 percent of the mothers raise their large families alone.

[Question] The income of the large family does not consist exclusively of the parents' wages. State entities provide considerable financial aid. Let us not forget large family support payments and poverty assistance.

[Answer] Let us not delude ourselves about this considerable aid. Let us take a closer look. Three sources of systematic assistance from state entities can be identified: aid to families with several children, poverty assistance and aid to mothers raising children without a legal father. According to existing laws, the amount of aid to families with several children depends on the number of children and on their age. Families become eligible for it starting with a fourth child. The amount is negligible: 4 rubles per month, even though with each additional child the amount gradually increases. For instance, a seventh or an eighth child costs the state 10 rubles each. However, assistance is provided only while the child is 1

through 5 years of age. Needless to say, the need for food, clothing, shoes, even toys does not go away after the child turns six, but, on the contrary, begins to increase geometrically. But the child himself can not earn money yet. Since their children have already reached that age, not all large families get this assistance; in our sample, 20 percent of the families do not. A little more than a third get aid for the fourth child, and a similar share for the sixth and seventh. Consequently, the average payment is 7 rubles a month. Clearly, so small a sum cannot substantially affect the financial condition of the large family.

According to our study, 27 percent of the families get poverty assistance. Its average amount appears to be roughly 32 rubles per month.

State assistance to single mothers is paid to 46 percent of fatherless families.

The average monthly income of a family with several children is 285-to-289 rubles. The amount varies considerably depending on the type of family. Fatherless families average 180 rubles, two-parent households 300 rubles. These averages, too, conceal rather wide income differentials.

The size of income is not related to the number of children in the household. This means that the families' total incomes are comprised primarily of the parents' earnings, while other sources—including, I would like to stress, state assistance—are not significant contributors. As a result, as the number of children per family increases, per capita income falls. In large two-parent families, per capita income is 41 to 45 rubles a month, and in one-parent families just 30 rubles. In any case, it is 2-to-3 times below the official subsistence level.

For comparison, our national per capita income average is approximately 100 rubles per month; 60 percent of the population earn more than this amount.

[Question] Many mothers and fathers work at factories, plants, institutes and scientific organizations. I think that their collectives simply must provide assistance and take care of their employees.

[Answer] This assistance is small and irregular. For instance, only 5 percent of the families get any kind of financial help; in addition, 11 percent receive discounted or free trips to resorts or summer camps. Assistance from schools and health service organizations is equally sporadic: sometimes the families receive discounted or free food and provided with free school uniforms; occasionally, they get free trips to children's sanatoriums and some families, by the decision of the local soviet ispolkom, are attached to certain food stores.

[Question] Do these long-suffering families have adequate housing at least?

[Answer] In Leningrad as a whole, the situation seems to be under control. Some 71 percent of the families have apartments of their own, 27 percent live in communal apartments and only 1 percent in dormitories. These, however, are faceless figures. But here is a living example: a family of eight lives in a 15 square-meter flat and has been on a waiting list for a larger apartment for 8 years. On average, the sample's per capita residential space is 6 square meters, which is below the sanitation norm. Moreover, over one quarter of the families has less than 4.5 square meters per person. The study's data also reveals that before it gets a sixth child, a large family receives no advantages in getting housing.

An important indicator of the quality of housing is its amenities. Some 88 percent responded that they had adequate comforts in their apartments. Yet, this figure is not as great as it may seem. The high level of satisfaction with amenities in their apartments reflects the view of comfort formed in ascetic conditions. The mere fact of having a separate apartment is viewed as a great good fortune. In reality, only 1 in 3 families has such basic feature of modern civilization as a telephone. Moreover, employees of social services departments, who may be considered experts in this field, assess the families' living situation in the following way: one half live in unsatisfactory, 40 percent in satisfactory and only 10 percent in good conditions. It should be noted that from the point of view of comfort, four-child families are in the worst situation: two thirds of them live in very poor conditions.

[Question] It is hard to understand why such a small number of families could not be provided with decent housing.

[Answer] It is easy to explain. Leningrad natives account for only one fifth of mothers with several children. Most married couples are migrants. As a result, they usually have temporary residence permits or get housing from their employer. But even when their temporary residence permits become permanent, it takes a while until their rights equal the rights of those who were born on the banks of the Neva river.

[Question] Crowded conditions and constant struggle, literally, for survival must form a distinct psychology.

[Answer] Unfortunately it is true. The impact of this is felt most readily on the children. We talk a lot about the large family syndrome and the mutual support and assistance, but such families are rather the exception. As medical and legal studies have shown, it may not be as good to have many children in one family as it seems at first glance. Large urban families have a higher incidence of juvenile delinquency and educational neglect. Specialists conclude that in 10 percent of such families the moral and psychological climate is unsatisfactory. This

figure should be corrected for reluctance to be open about the true family situation in order to protect its image, as well as incompetence or lack of diligence on the part of poll takers.

[Question] Researchers in Central Asian republics claim that their families are stable and remain intact only because they have many children. How true is this assertion in your opinion?

[Answer] We use the Leningrad example to analyze a typical large family in a large city. It is difficult or nearly impossible to compare a European and a Central Asian family in similar conditions: the differences and special conditions are simply too great. And yet it is possible to conclude with a high degree of certainty that in Central Asia the rural family stays intact only when the woman does not hold a job. As soon as she joins the labor force, which is generally associated with a move to the city, the incidence of divorce increases and the number of children declines.

The large number of children also depends on the principle on which the family is built. More children are born to patriarchal families, and this is why they appear to be more stable. This happens because all conflicts are resolved by the husband's dominance. As is well-known, the Muslim canon stipulates that obedience is the woman's principal virtue. "Everywhere in the Muslim world," writes M.V. Vagabov in "Islam and the Family," "the woman's main duty is to bear children, raise them and do house work, while the man's function as protector, breadwinner and master stems from his innate advantages and training." Based on these principles, young girls are taught at a very young age to obey without questioning the will of the father, and subsequently of the husband. These principles of sexual segregation are so strongly imbedded in the culture that they manifest themselves even today. This can be seen even among middle-aged and young couples.

[Question] Apparently, the move to a large city is associated with access to better information, closer ties with the outside world and higher educational levels.

[Answer] It is interesting that the number of children increases in reverse proportion to the mother's educational level. Women with college degrees, even if they want a large family, usually stop after a fourth child. Our doctors recommend this as well. Starting with a fifth child, the incidence of child mortality and the likelihood of birth defects rise sharply. Let us make another point. In some 10 percent of our cases, the women started to bear children before they were 20 years old, and in a quarter of all cases continued past the age of 35 years. It is logical to assume that if a woman nearing 40 years of age bears a fifth or a sixth child, it occurs due to ignorance and poor information about the availability of birth control. For instance, studies have shown that in the early years of marriage Kazakh women know nothing about means to prevent pregnancy. More than one half

of village inhabitants learned about birth control for the first time from a physician and by then had 5 to 8 children. The only reason they were told of this possibility was because their health had deteriorated as a result of frequent childbirth. In short, no less than one half of children born to large families are in the medical high-risk group. To inform broad strata of the population of these facts has become a priority due the need to increase the parents' responsibility for the health of their children.

[Question] Sergey Isaevich, does this mean that you are opposed to the large family on principle?

[Answer] What does it mean, opposed or not opposed? Scientific data shows that there has been a universal process under way away from the large family and toward the small family, by way of the medium-size family—with the exception of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. In those republics the number of children per family has been rising: their average family size was 4.7 in the 1959 census, rising to 5.4 in 1970 and to 5.7 in 1979, due to the increase in the number of children. Meanwhile, in the RSFSR that figure has been on a steady decline: 3.6, 3.5 and 3.3, respectively. The censuses recorded divergent trends: first, stability in the family size in Estonia; second, a decline in Latvia, the RSFSR and the Ukraine; third, generally high but rather inconsistent numbers in Armenia and Azerbaijan and fourth, a steady increase of in the average household size in Central Asia. In short, we have three clearly defined groups of republics. At one end we have Estonia, Latvia, the Ukraine and the RSFSR and at the other Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan; Armenia and Azerbaijan are in the middle. Why do we have these differences? Cultural traditions and ethnic traits obviously leave an imprint on family structure. At the same time, the growing similarity of different ethnic and cultural regions, such as the Ukraine and Estonia, should be noted. This means that there is a stronger factor that, despite differences in ethnicity, makes family structures similar. Indeed, dividing Central Asian families into urban and rural ones shows the dominance of this factor in determining the average family size. A number of factors taken together indicate that native populations of Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Volga region are generally evolving toward the modern urban family that is typical of the central and north-western parts of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics. Detailed study of these regions, and of Leningrad in particular, may yield a general outlook for the development of the family in the near future.

Whether we want it or not, the large family is on its way out. At issue now is not whether or not to encourage a switch to the small family, but to provide assistance to and ensure the stability of the medium-size family. We want as many families as possible to have at least three children. Just to maintain the population stable, the average household must have no fewer than 2.6 members. The medium-size family has many advantages: it

facilitates planning and ensures a more balanced upbringing. In this respect, regional demographic processes that are under way in Latvia and Estonia are indicative. By this I mean encouraging 2- and 3-child families. Estonia has passed a decree "On Additional Measures to Improve the Demographic Situation in the Republic." Thanks to the new demographic policy, starting this year families with four and more children under the age of 18 years will receive housing on a priority basis, within one year. Starting in 1989, this policy will cover families with three children as well. Efforts have been made to improve working conditions for women: additional benefits have been introduced both in industry and in the service sector. Unfortunately, the situation is much worse in Leningrad. For several years now, an urgent need has been felt to create a family services office at the city ispolkom. A resolution to that effect was passed last year, but nothing has been done in practice. Many departments provide assistance to large families but all do so strictly within the limits of their authority. The result is that "seven nurses have a one-eyed baby," as the saying goes. Similar problems exist in many other cities. However, it should be noted that the public has become more insistent in addressing the problems of the large family. For instance, we see sometimes that surveys of such families are done not by the social services department's employees but by members of the large family club, who provide exhaustive and unbiased information.

Then, of course, there is a need to radically alter the attitude toward such families. In Czechoslovakia, for example, whenever a pregnant woman or a mother with a small child crosses the street, there is no need for a traffic light, since all traffic stops; here, on the contrary, mothers of several children not only get no assistance at all but often get to hear unflattering comments about themselves.

[Question] What is the outlook for large family assistance for the near future?

[Answer] In essence, judging by the survey of the parents, large families' demands are extremely modest. Most could be met at the local level, without sizeable expenditures by the state. Large families should get more than mere material assistance: not only should they be attached to food stores—this is obvious and elementary, there is nothing more to be said about it—but it is important to include them into the fabric of the community, give them transit fare discounts and discounted subscriptions and memberships, provide for priority tickets to concerts, museums and plays and teach the children to paint, draw and play musical instruments. The large family, with all its problems and joys, tragedies and losses exists and will not go away in the near future. The higher our standard of living, the more diverse the family, both in structure and number. Acceptable conditions, as well as concrete means to improve them, should be provided at all levels.

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12892

### **Persistence of Sexist Attitudes, Sexual Inequality Attacked**

18300419a Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 4

[Interview with O. Voronina, candidate of philosophical sciences, scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, by L. Artamonova: "Two Steps Behind the Man?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] One opinion that we hear expressed is that in our country the question of equal rights for women and men was resolved once and for all a long time ago. And in fact, the USSR Constitution does grant both groups equal opportunities for education, for job placement, for participation in public life, etc. But is there even one social problem which we can say has been solved once and for all? Society lives and changes, and this means that changes in the views on the "women's question" are inevitable. "But it does exist, and to talk about it having been resolved is to deceive ourselves," thinks O. Voronina, candidate of philosophical sciences, scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy.

[Question] Olga Aleksandrovna (Voronina), what would you say first of all in support of your opinion?

[Answer] I would talk about women's inequality in the sphere of remuneration for labor. About the difficulties of professional advancement. About the problem of mother and child protection. About double employment, i.e., "work after work" at home. And the most disturbing aspect is the lack of genuine equality in the sphere of social consciousness. Every one of these statements is proven by the research of our scholars. In my dissertation I also back up the statement that if we truly want to face a person (which may be a woman, of course), then first of all we must reject stereotypes of consciousness; we must reject the traditional patriarchal views of the family, which even today largely determine the relations between the sexes.

[Question] Patriarchal views? To put it simply, "home and hearth"? When they see in a man the provider, the breadwinner, the head and when they see in a woman the homemaker? But has the path (of over 70 years) traversed by the Country of the Soviets, not refuted this? Have our (female) contemporaries not proven what they are capable of? And today are we not sounding the alarm because some of "the emancipated ones" have begun to forget their main destiny—to be mothers, to continue the human race?

[Answer] That is exactly what I would like to challenge! You are talking about the "main destiny of a woman."

[Question] But that is, after all, truly the main destiny—the sacred and the highest.

[Answer] But is it one's destiny? Maybe it is better to say a calling? Or to choose some other word? You understand that having said "destiny," we are claiming that a woman—from the very beginning, from birth, and by her very nature—already has a different path prepared in advance for her than does a man. What is this, if not discrimination by sex? In the West that is exactly what they call it. Sexism. And progressive people have declared a genuine war against it. UNESCO subsidizes publications which explain in language easily understood by children and poorly-educated adults the reactionary essence of sexism. Just as racism declares the supremacy of some people over others due only to the color of their skin, sexism does this on the basis of sex. Freud said "A woman's anatomy is her destiny." K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin, in contrast, saw in a woman a person capable and obligated to play the same role in socialist society as a man.

[Question] But after all, one cannot claim that cultural figures, economic leaders, and the mass media in our country are espousing sexism!

[Answer] No, but speaking frankly, some of them, perhaps without giving the matter much thought, are extremely close to a cast of mind which reminds us of that. I follow the press closely. And, I hope, I may express on the pages of your newspaper my opinion of the journalists writing on women's topics?

[Question] Yes, of course.

[Answer] Some of you have gotten extremely carried away with sentiments opposite to those which dominated public opinion in previous years. Formerly, when you portrayed a positive image of an outstanding female worker or an activist, who was one of our contemporaries, as a rule, you omitted or mentioned her family situation only in passing, but now you write about this right off the bat, condemning those who "go to work while the children are still asleep and come home after they are asleep."

You write about a woman, a young and energetic engineer, who refused a position as head of a department because "the children do not get much joy out of a mother-manager." You talk about a good mother and wife, emphasizing "her special female intellect": she, do you see, consciously stays two steps behind her husband, thus strengthening his authority in the family, helping him "to feel a man, the head of the family." And with this you are setting guidelines for the readers.

[Question] But it is life itself which forces us to do this! How can we compensate for neglect of family interests and parental obligations?

[Answer] Just a minute. Parental obligations, you said. That is precisely what they are. But there are always two parents. Two people participate in love. And the pages of the newspapers carry increasingly frequent and louder appeals to maternal love and maternal duty but almost nothing about paternal duty. With what righteous anger do the journalists throw themselves upon the woman who has forgotten "her destiny," who was not able or did not want to become selflessly devoted to her children, who put them in boarding school, or, what is worse, into a children's home. But where is the father of these children? His unwillingness to raise them does not appear so terrible in the eyes of society. If she is a "cuckoo," what is he? They write about prostitutes and not a word about those who patronize them. They relish the details, the scandal, but what they should write about is society's responsibility for the recurrence of an old disease.

Women's problems are not just the problems of women themselves. They are problems of society with regard to women. However, most of the time we attack the woman, not the problem.

[Question] That is a serious reproach! And it is difficult not to accept it. By the way, at a recent briefing by the Committee of Soviet Women, A. Fedulova, the first deputy chairperson, also talked about this. "I have grounds for asserting," she said, "that some of our party and economic managers think that the question of equal rights for women in our country has been solved. And this is not so. We have things to think about. We have things for which we can be criticized." Alevtina Vasilyevna (Fedulova) also mentioned the enormous interest which our (women) friends from abroad show in Soviet women. Today, she noted, we must answer many questions which previously we preferred...to laugh off. Why do our women end up at the "bottom of the personnel heap?" We have no women ministers, and the few deputy ministers we did have and who are now retired have been replaced by men almost everywhere. Why is it that women work primarily in the sectors with the lowest pay—in light industry and the food industry, in the service sphere, in health care and in education? And there are many other "why's" to which it is time to provide answers. For ourselves. And to help us search for solutions.

[Answer] Yes, we need to be thoroughly honest. Otherwise we are talking about the need to return women to the family and leaving unanswered the question of how we will replace 52 percent of the people employed in the national economy?

We claim that a woman has a right to comprehensive development and to be enthusiastic about creative work and business, but at the same time we hasten to add: "All this must not be to the detriment of the family!" But it is clear that if you give more to your work, to your professional growth and to community activities, then less remains for the family. But what is the sin there? A



majority of men live that way. They have someone in the "rear"—a wife. Why cannot an effective, talented woman have this in the person of a considerate domestically-inclined husband? A man is just as capable of raising children and of running a home as a woman. And do we not know a mass of examples where the roles in the family are distributed in precisely this manner? The wife is pursuing a successful career, and the whole family is extremely proud of her, freeing her from many domestic tasks. If this would only satisfy both spouses.

A man is created for family life just as much as a woman is. There are many fine spouses who have arranged everything on an equal basis, but not in the sense of "as much as I have done, you must do too." Mutual respect, parity and the complete absence of any disparagement of the woman are the most important elements here. After all, we place a high value on the very desire of our loved ones to help us.

There is one last thing which I would like to say. The emancipated woman should not get all the blame for the instability of the modern family and for the disintegration of many marital unions. Emancipation is an objective process. In my view it must be two-sided: it must be the emancipation of both women and men from the power of the patriarchal culture and from stereotypes which have outlived their time. After all, perestroika of the consciousness also concerns these relations.

8543

#### **Letter from Inmate Scores Labor-Treatment Facility**

*18300419b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
18 Jun 88 p 2*

[Unsigned letter to the editor: "Save Us From This Curse!": Letter to the Editor From a Labor-Treatment Facility"; last two paragraphs are note from the editor]

[Text] A person drinks. Everything falls apart: family, work, life in general. How can one get rid of this curse, how can one return to the society of people and experience the great joy of becoming a person once again?! They go to a substance-abuse specialist, and he advises them to undergo treatment. They are treated as out-patients and then as in-patients. But with no results. Various measures are applied to a person but they are all in vain. And then at that time a decision is made to send him to a Labor-Treatment Facility (LTF)

Everything would seem to be correct and logical: if one thing does not help, they try something else, and then a third thing... As a rule, the last, the "extreme" method" should be the most potent, the most effective. But in fact?

It is no secret that people who end up in an LTF are considered to be not simply alcoholics but also the most inveterate and hardened cases, which "only the grave

will correct." But one has to end up himself in that very LTF in order to be convinced that (much to his surprise) there are quite a few who are not candidates for the grave. About 35 percent of those who end up in LTF-1 (where I am) for the first time have never before been treated at a substance-abuse dispensary, nor do they have police (militia) records. And the 26 February 1986 Ukase of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet "Concerning the Forced Treatment and Labor Re-education of Chronic Alcoholics and Drug Addicts" does say: "Establish that chronic alcoholics are obligated to undergo a full course of special treatment in a medical treatment institution of the health organs" (the words obligated and full were underlined by the author of the letter—editor's note).

How can a person who has no previous record and who has not been treated in a substance-abuse clinic be considered a chronic alcoholic? Who determines this—a neighbor, a district police officer or all-knowing wives?

If they have "determined by looking" that a person (especially a young person) is an alcoholic, then it is first necessary to give him an opportunity, as specified in the Ukase, "to undergo a full course of special treatment in a medical treatment institution of the health organs."

Nonetheless, a person has ended up in an LTF. Now he is a patient.

What is forced treatment? It is treatment of a patient whose illness carries within itself danger and harm to society and who himself refuses to be treated.

Clearly, those methods of treatment which are used for voluntary patients are not suitable here. Methods which are many times stronger are needed, and the amount of treatment of all kinds must be increased by a factor of several fold in comparison with that for volunteers. This is simple logic. But imagine this picture: a nerve patient has come to a neurological department. There they check his teeth, straighten a dislocated finger, take an x-ray, give him a magazine with pictures, sit him in front of the television, but no one thinks to do anything about his nerves. But, you will say, this does not happen. And you would be absolutely correct, but only with regard to hospitals, polyclinics, etc. Judge for yourselves.

I received 12 months of the "extreme, last-resort" method. I thought they would cure me. But they did not cure me. Or more accurately, they did not treat me at all.

For almost a year I have been expecting intensive treatment. During this time I received two twenty-day courses of the vitamin PP (nicotinic acid), and now, before my departure, they have prescribed 20 days of pyroxine. And that is all! There was not one single conversation initiated by a physician on the subject of "to drink or to live"; there was not a single book on an anti-alcohol subject in the library, and not one of the

films which they show in the local club concerned this subject matter. There were no mass meetings, and no lectures were given on this "sore" topic.

They have here a method of "treatment" called the "bar." Those who are assigned to receive it are given a shot of apomorphine, after which they are given alcohol to drink; after a few minutes, the person vomits violently. Or instead of a needle, they give a special mixture, and the rest is the same. In my opinion, the "bar" as a treatment is cruel nonsense because everyone knows that the vomiting does not result from a developed reflex of aversion to alcohol; it results from the needle or the mixture. The effect is zero.

By the way, no one at the LTF hides the fact that they do not intend to treat alcoholism here ("you have come to the wrong place"!).

A commission which came from Moscow recently became terribly angry because we had too many (!) substance-abuse specialists.

In passing I would note that the window dressing arranged for the visits of every possible commission continues to flourish here abundantly. Each time a real emergency job is announced: "God forbid that they should find anything wrong!"

I was always waiting for one of them be interested enough to ask: what treatment methods do they use here or do they treat you at all? I waited in vain.

Why are the LTF's in their present form necessary? And new ones are still being built. Maybe they need to look for an answer in the registration book, in the section labeled "trade, profession." And there the following appear: worker, plasterer, chauffeur, tractor driver, stone mason, welder, sanitary equipment operator, etc. The intelligentsia amounts to 0.5 percent. I hope that it is understandable why this is so. Here, after all, it is necessary to do hard work.

There is more. I was horrified to see so many young people here: young people are a quarter of the entire continent! Many of them had no police records nor were they on the rolls of any substance-abuse clinics. How did they end up here? What will they be like when they come out of here after such "treatment?" Will they really be better than when they came?

I do not want to re-invent the wheel and prove that alcoholism is a severe and terrible disease which people contract, alas, voluntarily and consciously. That is, should a person be thrown away just because he "himself is guilty?"

Only a foolish person would now say that alcoholism should not be treated. It must be treated. But it should be genuinely treated; this misfortune must not be exploited by the use of a sign saying "labor treatment facility" to cover up a concentration of people for forced labor.

Why are the funds which are going to finance these treatment facilities not used to organize institutions which would apply the treatment methods of Doctor Dovzhenko, which, the press has reported, have an effectiveness rate unequalled throughout the world?! After all, the overwhelming mass of alcoholics dream only of getting rid of this curse. But how? By himself he is powerless..

Why not establish a network of Dovzhenko rescue services throughout the country? Something must be done because we cannot tolerate any longer the existence of such an "extreme" method as the LTF in its current form. P.K.

From the Editor. The author of this letter requested that we not give out his last name, explaining that people everywhere have a very biased attitude toward those who have undergone a course of treatment in an LTF.

The editor understands that not all the points made in this letter are indisputable, but considering that letters such as this turn up in our mailbag not all that infrequently, we have decided to publish it nonetheless. We would like to hear our readers' opinions on the problems raised in this letter in order to use them subsequently during a meeting with representatives from the agencies concerned.

8543

#### **Use of National Languages in Criminal Proceedings Reviewed**

*18000516 Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in Russian No 11, Jun 88 (signed to press 26 May 88) p 18*

[Article by Candidate of Legal Sciences M. Ashirbekova: "Implementation of the National Language Principle in Criminal Proceedings"]

[Text] The national language principle in judicial proceedings is codified in the USSR Constitution (Art. 159) and has been specifically elaborated in Art. 11 of the Basic Principles of Criminal Proceedings and in Art. 17 of the RSFSR Criminal Proceedings Code and corresponding articles of the criminal proceedings codes of the other union republics. The court has an important role to play in implementing the requirements of this principle concerning the conducting of judicial proceedings in the language indicated in the law and the ensuring of the right of persons participating in a case to use their native language through the services of an interpreter. The court of original jurisdiction and the higher court not only follow the aforementioned requirements in their work but, in cases of violations of Art. 17 of the

Criminal Proceedings Code, take measures of procedural reaction: return the case for additional investigation, vacate a judgment and send the case for new investigation or new judicial consideration, or make a special ruling.

Among the grounds for applying the aforementioned measures, the law stipulates substantial violations of criminal proceedings law (Paragraph 2, Art. 232; and Art. 345 of the RSFSR Criminal Proceedings Code). However, the list of unconditional grounds for the vacating of a judgment (Part 2, Art. 345 of the Criminal Proceedings Code) does not cite among such grounds the violation of the national language principle in judicial proceedings. Yet a Plenum of the RSFSR Supreme Court, in its 17 April 1984 Decree No. 2, "On Certain Questions Connected with the Courts' Application of Criminal Proceedings Norms Regulating the Returning of Cases for Additional Investigation," indicated, among substantial violations of criminal proceedings law, the violation of the requirements of Art. 17 of the Criminal Proceedings Code concerning the provision of an interpreter to a defendant who does not speak the language in which the proceedings in the case are being conducted. The criminal proceedings codes of most of the union republics identify, as substantial violations of criminal proceedings law connected with the language of judicial proceedings, the following matters: the trial of a case in a language that the defendant does not speak without the participation of an interpreter, and the court trial of a case without participation of an interpreter when his participation is mandatory.

Let us note that the appropriate implementation of the national language principle in judicial proceedings does not come down solely to providing for the participation of an interpreter, since the implementation of this provision of the law does not in itself mean the fulfillment, for example, of the requirements of Part 3, Art. 17, of the Criminal Proceedings Code. Thus, the RSFSR Supreme Court's Criminal Cases Collegium vacated a judgment in the case of I. in light of violations of Arts. 17 and 318 of the RSFSR Criminal Proceedings Code. They were expressed in the fact that the investigatory and judicial documents had not been presented to the defendant translated into his native language or into another language that he spoke, and the court's verdict had not been read in court by an interpreter in a translation into the defendant's native language, as required in accordance with Art. 318 of the Criminal Proceedings Code (Bulletin No. 6 of the RSFSR Supreme Court, 1985, p. 13).

In turn, the realization of the requirements of Part 3, Art. 17, of the Criminal Proceedings Code concerning the presentation, to a defendant who does not speak the language of the judicial proceedings, of investigatory and judicial documents in a translation into his native language or another language that he speaks also depends on the fulfillment of a number of norms that specifically elaborate it: a norm concerning the presentation to a defendant in a translation into his native language of the

formal charges and of the finding of an executive session of the court, if the charges or measures to secure the defendant's appearance have been changed (Art. 237 of the Criminal Proceedings Code); a norm concerning the reading of a verdict by an interpreter in the defendant's native language or another language that he speaks (Art. 318 of the Criminal Proceedings Code). The failure to present the verdict to the defendant in translation into his native language is also a case of violation of Part 3, Art. 17, of the Criminal Proceedings Code, although the RSFSR Criminal Proceedings Code, in contrast to most of the other union republics' criminal proceedings codes, does not contain this specific elaboration of the norm. In this connection, it seems that deviations from the requirements of the norms elaborating Art. 17 of the Criminal Proceedings Code should also be a matter for appropriate reaction by the court, since these norms are connected with the realization of the procedural rights of persons who do not speak the language in which proceedings in a case are being conducted. Along these lines, the version in those union-republic criminal proceedings codes that stipulate that violation of the rule concerning the language of proceedings is a substantial violation of criminal proceedings law is more successful. Such a wording is sufficiently broad and gives the court the right to react to violations of any norm connected with the use of the language of judicial proceedings.

The procedural reaction of a court to violations of the norms concerning the language of judicial proceedings cannot be simple. It seems that the unconditional substantial violations of criminal proceedings law concerning the language of judicial proceedings should be considered to include violations of the norms concerning the conducting of proceedings in a case in the language provided in the law; of the norm concerning the provision of an interpreter's services both in the investigatory process and in connection with judicial actions to persons who do not speak the language of the judicial proceedings; the norm regarding the participation of an interpreter in the familiarizing of a defendant and victim who do not speak the language of the proceedings with the materials of the case; and the norm concerning the presentation of investigatory and judicial documents to a defendant who does not speak the language of the judicial proceedings in a translation into his native language or another language that he speaks. The performing by investigator, procurator and judge of the functions of interpreter should also be deemed such a violation.

The violation of some norms concerning the language of judicial proceedings as a whole cannot place in doubt the correctness of the findings of the preliminary investigation, or the legality and substantiation of the verdict that is reached. Among those norms, one can cite the conducting of one and the same case alternately in two languages that have been established for judicial proceedings in given locality, but with the provision of the services of an interpreter to persons involved in the case; the failure to announce a verdict in translation into the

native language of a convicted or acquitted defendant, if he is subsequently given a copy of the verdict in translation; the failure to provide the services of an interpreter to a witness whose testimony is identical to the testimony of a number of questioned witnesses, etc. Obviously, such violations should be evaluated by the court in connection with the specific circumstances of a case and can be reflected in a special finding of the court. A special finding of the court, like a finding that a case should be returned for additional investigation by the court of the first instance, or a finding (decree) concerning the vacating of a judgment and sending of the case for new investigation or new judicial consideration, contributes to the development of a uniform practice in application of the norms concerning the language of judicial proceedings.

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8756

### **Teacher Urges Use of Russian Language in Multiethnic Kirghizia**

18300361 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
16 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Kirghiz State University Docent V. Shelike: "Catching One Another's Meaning": "Or On How Many Languages a Citizen of a Union Republic Should Know"]

[Text] For almost 40 years I've lived and worked in a multinational republic—Kirghizistan. As in Belorussia, in the Ukraine, and as among us, the problem of bilingualism is being ardently debated. (The acuteness of these problems is clearly seen in the article by E. Konratov recently published in IZVESTIYA, "The Thread Which Unites our Souls.") And of course the students—future teachers—are excited about them too; those who will have to train the school children in two languages, if this position is approved; or in one language, if the current situation prevails.

Naturally, I too, as a teacher in higher education have something to say on this regard. And I would like to focus attention on those aspects of the problem which one cannot avoid, if we, raising and sharing our aroused national feelings nevertheless intend to preserve and multiply international sensitivities.

To begin with I would remind you that with respect to language the situation in the national republics, both union and autonomous, is far from identical. There are republics where it is proper to pose the question of bilingualism—let's say, Latvia or Estonia. But in multinational Kazakhstan, or Kirghizia itself, the situation is far more complex. Therefore, when at the very first lectures my students, Russians and Kirghiz ask me, some

softly and some even rather frostily, what is my attitude toward teaching in the Kirghiz language in school and at the VUZ, I always answer with a counter-question:

"Tell me please, how many nationalities have settled in our republic?" In response, of course, I hear what everyone knows, a loud "Eighty!"

"Then why on earth do you ask only about the Kirghiz or the Russian language? And where then are the other 78 languages of the inhabitants of our republic?"

It turns out that none of our students have ever considered this line of thought; they are confused, and at the same time suspicious: "All the same, is the instructor not avoiding a direct answer—whether she is for Kirghiz or against it?"

"What do you think," I ask, "Dungans, Uighurs or Soviet Germans: would you like to preserve your own language? Should there be kindergartens and elementary schools in your native language?"

But that is impossible," they cry in response. "These ethnic groups are too small!"

And right then and there they fall into embarrassed silence, glancing at the German or the Dungan next to them.

"But they are not natives," says a young Kirghiz at length, a quiet and confident young man. "The Kirghiz language is the language of the indigenous people."

"And you don't think that the old Korean who has lived his entire life in Frunze does not feel pain when his son no longer speaks Korean?"

Once again they fall to thinking. This time, at length.

And here I propose: "Let us now give some thought to why this question has suddenly arisen. After all any national problem is always only a form, behind which one must find the social substance, meaning and purpose."

Thus, we begin to delve into the problems of present-day international relationships, at a time when it has become clear that many people are ready to defend the interests and the language of their own nation; and at the same time are unready to thoroughly investigate the sensitive areas of people from other nationalities, who live next door or who sit right next to them.

I believe three lines of development have come together in our republic, and this coming together is generating sparks, and at times thunder and lightening. What do I have in mind? On the one hand the cities of Kirghizia, and especially the capital, have not escaped the processes of assimilation that are going on throughout the world. For those who live in Frunze, no matter who he is—a

Kirghiz, Dungan, Korean or Armenian—Russian has become the living language of the community. And the Kirghiz urban intelligentsiya has completely mastered this language, which many of the urbanites speak at home in their everyday life as well.

The younger generation of Kirghiz intelligentsiya (I repeat, the urbanites) quite often hardly know the Kirghiz language at all, although they acknowledge this lack as a loss. But the population of the villages—and not only the Kirghiz, but also the Dungan, Uighur and German—as a rule retain their national languages at home, and the little children for this reason know them better than they know Russian. Therefore the need for schools and classes with various languages of instruction: Kirghiz, German and others—is understandable. Although such a necessity has for the time being caused certain organizational difficulties, it has not offended anyone's national sensitivities. But then perestroika began, and we had to rid ourselves of the distortions in cadre policy of the last decades, when people of the indigenous nationality had occupied the majority of positions in republic administration, in the party apparatus, in the student body, and in the corps of teachers. Perestroika posed the question thus: that each person should occupy this or that position in society not by virtue of national origin alone, but according to his degree of talent as an administrator, teacher, physician, or party official.

It would seem that is clear and fair; but at the same time it is far from simple, and not simple even where the process does not have national tones. But what does one say when it goes through the republics, including our own, when an attempt to replace a person who has a poor grasp of his profession with one who has fully mastered it, can run head-on into the barrier of hurt national feelings.

One should not count on the fact that changes will take place painlessly. Everyone may say "yes" in their mind and heart; but is it easy for people to give up the privileges which they received just from belonging to the indigenous population (for example, when entering the VUZ)? Does everyone clearly acknowledge the social origins of the feelings of national dissatisfaction which have suddenly appeared? Will everyone say (to himself as well) that it is precisely for such a reason that the problem of saving the Kirghiz language has sprung up, right down to their readiness to divide our urban children in the kindergartens according to national origin?

True, at an earlier stage of national policy, the equalization of formerly backward peoples required certain privileges, without which accelerated formation of a national intelligentsiya and a national administrative apparatus would have been impossible. But today such privileges only harm the common cause. The desire to preserve them, to defend them at all costs, brings out an entirely different aspect of the question of knowing the language

of the indigenous nationality. When one asks this question, one's respect for this nationality is somehow held up to scrutiny, irregardless of how one's respect is actually shown; that is, in one's work or in one's professional contribution.

I became convinced of this recently at a school for Komsomol workers where I held a talk on internationalism. At the end of our discussion I was asked: "Well, do you know the Kirghiz language?"

I candidly answered, "No, I don't. I made an attempt, it's true, right after arriving in the republic. I attended classes for six months; but all around me in the city everyone was speaking Russian, and my attempt was not crowned with success."

"That's enough," a young girl said angrily. "By your answer you have canceled out all your words about internationalism. I won't believe you any more."

It seems to me that such positions are quite often overlooked in articles discussing the problems of bilingualism as well. One must, they say, know the language in order to demonstrate one's respect to the indigenous people, among whom one lives. But, forgive me—how then can one be a soldier, or a geologist, who has to change his place of residence many times in his life, and consequently his national surroundings?

And why is respect for the people among whom you live shown solely and exclusively in knowledge of his language? Why isn't it considered a sign of respect that I honor the customs and mores of that people? When I enter the house, even when in Europe, I always take off my shoes—that is the custom in my Kirghizia. My heart stops beating when I hear the voices of the highly talented Kirghiz singers Meldzhikiyev and Kulmatov. Chingiz Aytmatov is among my very favorite contemporary writers and I deeply respect his talent. And so, does the fact that I read Aytmatov, not in Kirghiz, but in Russian, truly count for more than the 40 years I have devoted to teaching Kirghiz students? Incidentally, I used to have an apartment in Moscow on Gorkiy St., and I, the daughter of a German communist, was persuaded to be assigned right to Kirghizia, and I never once complained about the fact that at first I lived for a year, and then two in Osh, in conditions very much unlike the capital, and henceforth to this day have lived on the outskirts of Frunze.

The girl smiled sweetly, but nevertheless did not forgive my lack of knowledge of the Kirghiz language. It would be better to know it. I know that full well; but you see I did not master it, and primarily because of the fact that in all these years not once did a situation arise when my students did not understand me.

Once I began to speak on this in a student group, and asked the kids why they so ardently defend the need for studying the Kirghiz language? They were indignant: "What do you mean, what for? One has to read literature in one's native language." "That's a good reason," I replied. "What else?"

The group included many students who knew Russian extremely well. Widely-read young people, and very modern. I listened to them, and then reminded them that in the rural schools the kids do not know Russian well. Perhaps my students, future teachers, insist upon study of the Kirghiz language so that when they have completely mastered it, they can dash off to the country after completing the VUZ to teach the little ones?

At first my students were taken aback, but since they are an honest people, they frankly replied, "No, not for that reason."

I already knew the answer, but nevertheless was saddened that in their strivings to preserve their native language they are not pursuing the goal of reducing the tragic gap in the level of education of the rural and urban citizens. After all, I am a teacher, and I see how hard such bright but undereducated kids study in the Kirghiz groups composed of the products of the rural schools.

Here is where we have a real social problem which must be solved! The rural area in fact does need teachers who know the national languages. But where to get them in the required numbers? I have a friend, a Kazakh woman, a former correspondence-course student. Not long ago she was given a first-grade class made up entirely of Dungan children. She, as a woman from the country, knows Kazakh, Russian and Kirghiz, but has not mastered Dungan. And so she and her young students made a deal, that every day she would teach them a sentence in Russian and they would teach her three in Dungan. The kids were delighted. And I'd like to ask the Moscow moms and pops who have sent their children off to the first grade: Would you like it if the person who taught your child to read did not know Russian? But what is to be done if no one in Kirghizia is preparing any teachers for Dungan classes in the villages?

And here I return to that with which I started. Before me are letters from Soviet Germans, sent to the magazine NEUES LEBEN. They contain the very same demands as those of the Moldavians, Belorussians and Kirghiz: Open German schools in the cities. In actual fact, are there really only two languages that are equal in my republic: Russian, as the language of international intercourse; and Kirghiz, as the language of the indigenous populace? And does that mean that the rest are not needed, since they are not native?

I have deliberately accentuated the problem, so that a new danger is made clear—a new hierarchy of privileges for some and a lack of them for others. My republic, in this sense, is the focal point of the national problems.

It goes without saying and is clear to everyone that it is altogether inconceivable to open schools and kindergartens in Frunze today, in 80 languages. Where could one get the funds? The cadres? The textbooks? And would their parents want to send their children off in the mornings in overcrowded buses to another part of the city, only so that their child could study in his own language? And the main thing—would that be useful for the children? Today they play together out in the yard and study at the same school. But tomorrow, having preserved their own language in a unique kindergarten, a unique elementary school—how will the Uighurs, the Koreans, the Dungans, the Germans, and the Kirghiz of the city of Frunze—how will they get together in the workshops? Or at their study desks? Their language differences, their acute sensitivities for their own national origins, will have been multiplied tenfold by separate education!

No, that must not happen! The children must not be separated! And the enormous wealth accumulated over long years must not be cast to the winds.

"But what about language?" many are asking dejectedly.

The answers vary. Some are angry: "Why on earth do we need to be taught in our native language, if as a result we will learn Russian as a foreign language? And then if I want to study in Moscow later? Or Tashkent? Or Toms?"

Or, "No! For the sake of my native language I would even go the FRG! What kind of a German am I if I don't know German?" stormed others.

"And why should Koreans be concerned about their language in Frunze? It is in Korea where they speak Korean. And German is spoken in the FRG and the GDR. But here in the Kirghiz cities, the native language is dying out: it must be saved, and all this talk about 80 languages only confuses the issue," objects a third.

"We've been living together in peace for a long time. Everyone has been speaking Russian, and everyone understands one another. Then why has all this fuss started?" One can also hear such opinions in Frunze. What's so terrible here, they say, if everyone speaks Russian? You see, we are already approaching universal monolingualism.

The proposition for universal monolingualism was also heard in that very same school for Komsomol workers, and was met with a storm of protest. There were, however, not only objections, but proposals as well. And some of them have already been put into practice.

The local television station in Frunze has begun a program, "Let's Study the Kirghiz Language," and several programs have been aired for Soviet Germans and for Dungans; we've made a beginning. But we can go further. What, for example, would it cost to end the

program of Kirghiz television every evening with the traditional, "Don't forget to turn off the TV," not only in Russian and Kirghiz, but also in the other languages of the peoples of Kirghizistan? Five nights in a row in five languages; then in five more—and not only in letters across the screen, but aloud: "Don't forget to turn off the TV set! Good night dear Kirghizistan!" What's so bad about that? And on children's programming our children could week after week hear and learn how to say, "Thank you," and "Good morning," and learn little songs—one week in Kirghiz, another in Russian, then in Dungan, and so on. And then hold a competition among the young television viewers—who can remember best and sing the best, also from the TV screen. And is it truly impossible, for example, in kindergartens—maybe not right away in all of them or in a special way—to recruit teachers, nurses, cooks, and doctors, so that two or three or even four people could speak with the children only in their own native language? And if the grownups in their contacts with the children do not violate this rule, in only three months the little ones would bring home the languages in which their parents no longer can speak, but in which the entire group in the kindergarten can converse.

Is that Utopian? I think we should start today, while there are people living in Frunze who have not forgotten their own native language, and who have preserved it at home among their intimates. Here just let them share their linguistic wealth, and open for our children and grandchildren a window to various linguistic cultures. And then it will not be necessary to divide up the children in kindergartens on the basis of nationality for the sake of saving their native language. And there will not be anyone who considers his own language privileged nor will someone else feel humiliated and offended. And can a citizen of Bashkiriya truly not also master his native language, Russian and Tatar; and a Lithuanian, Polish and Russian?

Marx and Engels used to write to one another in three languages. And the members of the First International used to say of Engels that he was capable of employing malicious innuendo in 20 languages. Could it be that some day we will all be like such a genius?

And this is why I believe that the language in which each of us speaks, thinks and writes, is a voluntary matter. If someone prefers to remain monolingual—that is his right. If he wants to be bilingual—let him. To know 20 languages? Please do. But if one wants to understand the people of all 120 nations in our country, for that there is the Russian language, which is common to us all, the language of international intercourse.

Herein, in my view, lies the purpose, the final goal of each of us: to be able to catch the other person's meaning, everyone with whom life has brought us together, in a united and a great commonwealth of man. So that one's tongue—contrary to the proverb—would never be our enemy but always our friend.

09006

### Moscow Telephone Survey of Nationality Inequities

18300405 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian  
No 23, 4-10 Jun 88 p 7

[Article by L. Babayeva, candidate of philosophy, and Ye. Nazarchuk: "Monthly Poll of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, June 1988: Point 5. Nationality"]

[Text] The regular telephone poll of Muscovites conducted by the staff members of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY concerned the problems of nationality relations. This time 1,136 persons were polled.

We decided to begin our analysis from the replies to the question: "Do you consider it expedient to abolish the column "nationality" in the passport and other official documents?" Perhaps, to some people it does not seem so urgent and significant for it to be moved into the forefront in public opinion research on nationality relations, [but] nevertheless the proposal concerning the abolition of the "fifth point" is often encountered in the editorial mail of "ARGUMENTY I FAKTY."

The majority of those polled did not support this proposal: 60.4 percent came out "against", and only 26.7 percent—"for." The rest found it difficult to determine their position. In spite of the fact that the question was put in "concealed" form, i. e., it was required to select a previously proposed variant—"yes" or "no," part of the respondents tried to explain and to comment on their point of view, as the result of which more than 460 detailed answers were received. Their analysis showed that of those who came out against the abolition, 24 percent are convinced that this will call forth the infringement of national pride, the depersonalization and levelling of people. The most characteristic statement of that sort: "Every person should be proud of his nationality," "I am a Polish woman by nationality and I will never give this up," "I am a Russian, and I am proud of this," etc.

Some of the respondents fear that such a measure will lead to the weakening of nationality traditions, to the loss of the distinctiveness of nations: "It is impossible to do this, language, culture—what, also abolish?", "this column should be, and there should be conformity between what nationality is entered and what it is in actual fact."

These statements are indicative of the fact that some people are inclined to groundlessly make a fetish of the role of official entries in the preservation of the stability and distinctiveness of nations.

A number of people argued their point of view with statements of an aggressively chauvinistic and openly malevolent character.

15 percent believe that "this column does not hamper anyone": "In our country there is no nationality question," "in our country all nations live in peace and friendship," "do they really enlist for this today?" Another 7 percent is convinced that this column is an empty formality, a trifle.

The view that administrative actions by themselves are not able to solve the nationality problem, but may, on the contrary, aggravate it and attract unhealthy attention to it, also proved to be rather widespread.

Of those who spoke for the abolition of the column "nationality", only a small part (3 percent) explained their position by the existence, in their opinion, of secret discrimination and the infringement of the rights of the representatives of some nationalities. There are not so many examples, but they are sufficiently revealing: "Where we work people are divided into castes on the basis of nationality indication," "for this reason many suffer in trying to find work," and "precisely because of this various incidents take place."

To the other question of the questionnaire: "Are you interested in the nationality of people with whom you have dealings?"—only 8.8 percent of the respondents replied that this always interests them, 21 percent—rarely, sometimes, and 66.5 percent—never. Of 311 persons who gave answers with reasons, 42.6 percent indicated that the main thing for them in interpersonal intercourse and business contacts is not nationality, but other criteria for the assessment of a person—decency, benevolence, diligence, "the main thing is the human qualities of people." For this category of respondents, statements of the type are characteristic: "I treat people of all nationalities the same."

13.7 percent are interested in the nationality of those around them, out of intellectual curiosity, out of the desire to become more closely acquainted with another culture, with customs and traditions: "People of another culture attract me," "I am interested from an ethnographic point of view," "only in order to find out more about the customs." "Very often I would like to find out about the nationality of outstanding figures in science and culture, but in the encyclopedia nothing is mentioned about this. What is there to be ashamed of here?"

9.4 percent of the respondents consider nationality to be the determining indication of a person, on which, in their view, it depends how to conduct oneself with him, how to behave in conversation and even—how to treat him. Some propose that "nationality to 90 percent determines the character of a person." 5 percent answered that they do not associate, do not have (or do not wish to have) contacts with the representatives of other nationalities.

The analysis of the answers to the following question: "Have you had the occasion to encounter an unfriendly attitude to people of another nationality?"—showed that

the majority of Muscovites one way or another have come across such incidents: 19.2 percent—frequently, 39.2 percent—rarely, sometimes. 39.5 percent of those polled never came across these phenomena. Moreover, most frequently such facts were noted by young people (among them under 26 years of age—43 percent, over 55 years of age—only 8.5 percent), as well as representatives of socially active strata of the population (among those working—75.7 percent, among non-working pensioners—8.7 percent), and people with a higher level of education (among person with higher education—21.5 percent, with an incomplete secondary education—3.8 percent).

Of 156 persons who indicated concrete incidents, 29 percent came across negative attitudes toward people of another nationality not in Moscow itself, but in other republics (more than half of them—in the Baltic states, as well as in the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, and the western oblasts of the Ukraine and Belorussia). 10 percent of the Muscovites pointed to the manifestation of unfriendliness with respect to the Russian people on the part of the population of other regions of the country. 12.2 percent—with respect to people of a European nationality, 5 percent—to Caucasian and Central Asian nationalities, 2 percent—to others. But in so doing only 2.6 percent answered that they personally do not like the people of another nationality.

The most examples are cited in connection with anti-Semitism: "I know many anti-Semites," "the inequality among nationalities is: the fact that forgive the Russians, but not the Jews."

The results of the poll made it possible to reveal that, in their majority, the manifestations of unfriendliness of that sort are encountered in the consumer sphere—in stores, in the markets, in public transport, etc.

Of interest is the statement of one worker: "I can say with certainty that amidst the workers there cannot be nationalism. I have not encountered it." In what form are elements of unfriendliness manifested? Most often—in ironical conversations, jokes, anecdotes, etc. Incidents of humiliation or insult are noted significantly less frequently. Only in 4 percent of the cases were examples cited involving discrimination on the basis of nationality indication in actions of officials—during the departure abroad, in trying to find work, in the process of entering an institute, etc.

The analysis of the results of the poll make it possible to draw the conclusion that what is of paramount significance for the improvement of inter-nationality relations in Moscow, for which acute nationality conflicts are not typical, is the increase of the nurture of the culture of inter-personal intercourse, the ethics of conduct in every day life. At present, in the epoch of glasnost, the possibility is opening up to remove the gloss from the illumination of certain aspects of nationality relations, including—to recognize the existence of individual, even if



atypical, cases of discrimination, to expose the roots of chauvinism and nationalism in the attitude structure of people, since the consolidation of a genuine atmosphere of internationalism in society is impossible without an active struggle against these phenomena.

L. Badayeva, candidate of philosophy Ye. Nazarchuk

8970

### **Importance of Russian Language to Uzbek Youth Reemphasized**

*18300367 Tashkent PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 6, Jun 88 pp 64-68*

[Article by instructor G.Rakhmatullaeva, UzSSR Communist Party Central Committee's Science and Education Institutions Department: "To Study Russian, the Language of Friendship and Fraternity, in Greater Depth" under the "Ideological and Political Education Work" rubric]

[Text] The study of Russian by the broad popular masses is an important means of internationalist education of citizens. Constantly strengthening economic and cultural ties among the country's republics, regions and oblasts create an objective impetus for continued dissemination of the language of inter-nationalities communication. The CPSU Program says the following about the role of the Russian language in activating the creative potential of every USSR citizen: "In the future, the unimpeded development and equal use by all USSR citizens of their native tongues will continue to be guaranteed. At the same time, the study of Russian, a language voluntarily adopted by the Soviet people for inter-nationalities communication, alongside the language of one's own nationality, broadens one's access to achievements of science and technology and to Soviet and world culture."

Nowadays, when perestroyka is being implemented in every facet of the life of the society, this fundamental tenet is especially timely. Without the knowledge of Russian it is hard to take an active part in revolutionary changes under way in the economy or to fully apply one's energy and talents to the task of developing the productive forces of the republic and of the entire nation.

The CPSU Central Committee's February 1988 Plenum emphasized that the question of bilingualism requires constant attention. Concern for the development of the native tongue and its relationship with Russian is natural, since every language is an unalienable part of our common legacy. It is therefore abnormal when native and other indigenous language schools are closed down without justification.

Another aspect of the problem is the fact that a large number of non-Russian young people know Russian poorly. This was a serious concern of the UzSSR Communist Party Central Committee's Plenum.

Lately, an internationalist practice of bilingualism—of using two languages, national and Russian—has taken root in our republic. Russian has become a second native tongue for many people of indigenous nationalities. The number of mixed Russian and Uzbek schools has been growing. Today's task is not only to ensure further growth of the Russian-speaking base, which entails teaching the language to more and more people among the indigenous population, but to deepen the knowledge, i.e., to make it more profound and thorough.

In this respect it is important that in September 1987 the UzSSR Communist Party Bureau discussed and approved a comprehensive program "The Russian Language."

The need to develop this program stemmed from social, economic and cultural processes in various areas of life in the republic, the development of territorial, ethnic and inter-nationalities ties and the scale of migration within the republic.

The "Russian Language" program incorporates demands of crucial party documents that define the role of the Russian language in the socio-economic and ideological areas of our country's and republic's life.

The "Russian Language" program, taking into account recommendations of inter-republic and all-union scientific conferences on the Russian language that took place in Uzbekistan, spells out a number of practical measures to improve the study and teaching of Russian. It addresses the need to teach Russian to various non-Russian groups in the republic's population, from pre-school children to work age adults.

The comprehensive program consists of 10 parts and makes use of many proposals and suggestions made by professionals in the field. The curriculum was reviewed by scientists, specialists and Russian language instructors in universities, schools and research institutes in Tashkent and other cities of the republic.

The "Russian Language" program has set as its ultimate goal the formation of a solid base for harmonious national and Russian bilingualism among the republic's population. By the time a person graduates from secondary school, his linguistic personality as a bilingual speaker should already be fully formed. It is, in fact, the responsibility of secondary school to lay solid foundations of harmonious bilingualism which, when the person continues to study or gets a job, could be expanded and deepened, based on his professional activities and spiritual needs.

Russian instructors will be trained in Tashkent and at 3 or 4 oblast teachers' colleges where best professorial talent and study equipment can be found. Russian instructors for the republic's schools will also continue to be prepared at teachers' colleges in the RSFSR and Ukraine.

To bolster the material base of Russian studies, the program calls for improving curricula and programs, as well as textbooks and study aids. It plans to conduct experiments in intensive Russian instruction at a grammar school, teachers' college, special vocational technical school and college, and to publish a methodological manual for each type of school.

Measures are currently being taken to increase the number of highly qualified teaching and research professionals prepared in the republic and to combine research efforts of specialists from the republic and the USSR Academy of Science in studying linguistic problems and issues. Key issues in Russian studies have been identified. The implementation of the program would improve methodology, promote self-education by Russian language teachers, encourage experimental or advanced schools and ensure continued education of instructors. Various conferences, meetings and seminars on the Russian language should also help improve Russian studies.

A special coordinating Board for the Improvement of Russian Studies has been established under the aegis of the UzSSR Communist Party Central Committee; to provide overall leadership for the study of Russian at all school types, the republic's government is considering creating a unified methodological center. The center would coordinate various programs, oversee the publication and introduction of curricula, textbooks, methodological aids and study books and supervise research work. To encourage feedback from all local Russian studies facilities—at oblasts, towns and rayons—there are plans to set up outlets of the republic-wide methodology center.

In short, the UzSSR Communist Party Central Committee's resolution has set goals for the republic's party, soviet and social organizations, scientific entities and schools to fully implement the comprehensive "Russian Language" program and to provide organizational, technical and ideological base for its implementation.

Naturally, a program can not take everything into consideration or to address all problems. Hence, biannual republic-wide conferences will be held to review the progress of the program's implementation; the conferences will also make additions and modifications in the program.

The work to implement the "Russian Language" program began right after it was passed by the Central Committee Bureau. The question was widely discussed at party committees. The boards of the UzSSR Ministries of Education and Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the republic's State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education met to discuss the task of improving the teaching and study of Russian and recommended a set of activities. The UzSSR Academy of Science's Language and Literature Institute held a workshop at the end of last year to address questions related

to the functioning of Russian as a language of internationalities communication in a bilingual and multilingual environment, main types of bilingualism and multilingualism in Uzbekistan and trends of their development.

Complex work has been done by the UzSSR Ministry of Education. It has selected authors' groups to write methodological literature and discussed and approved for publication materials for an experiment in intensive learning of Russian in grades 1 through 4. Textbooks for grades 1 and 2 of the restructured school system and methodological guides for them have been published, as well as a Russian-Uzbek phrase book for grades 1 through 4. It has created themes for television learning programs in Russian language and literature. Russian classes for kindergarten and day care center employees who know the language poorly have been set up; this question was discussed at Kashkadarynskaya, Khorezm and Tashkent Oblasts. At the Namangan Teachers' College, a department was set up to provide supplementary professional training for high-school Russian instructors in Namangan, Andizhan and Fergana Oblasts; the department can accommodate up to 120 students a year. Proposals for making teachers' colleges more narrowly focused have been developed and submitted for consideration to the coordinating board. Specialists in Russian language and literature would be trained at college level institutions, with RSFSR teachers' colleges raising enrollment in the specialty Russian Language and Literature at National Schools. The USSR Ministry of Education has approved a tentative curriculum for the above-mentioned specialty, which provides for an intensive study of Russian in the first two years. Four colleges will participate in the experiment: RPIRYail [Republic Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature] TashGPI [Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute] imeni Nizami and Namagan and Khorezm GPIs. Steps are being taken to significantly improve the quality, content and design of the RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT UZBEK SCHOOL magazine, as well as to broaden its thematic orientation.

In short, an extremely important plan of action has been developed, aimed at improving the knowledge of Russian of representatives of indigenous nationalities. Here, it should be stressed that the program can be implemented only if party and soviet entities, schools, research institutes and the public play an active role in it. First of all, the project should not become yet another "campaign," as it has often happened in the past. Our concern for the state of Russian studies entails thorough and intensive work lasting many years, not a short-lived effort. This must be stated categorically, since there are still people who are used to old stereotypes and suppose that progress could be achieved if one made enough noise and held a few meetings and pompous conferences. Naturally, substance lies elsewhere. It is important to raise significantly the quality of Russian language instruction at national schools, vocational schools, trade

schools and colleges. This is a complex task, and the level of professional training of the teaching staff plays a crucial role in its success.

We should also think of ways to encourage kolkhozes, sovkhozes and local soviets to send young men and women to study, so that they could return to their native villages as highly trained professionals able to upgrade Russian language instruction at rural schools.

The task of upgrading Russian language instruction urgently calls for better textbooks, curricula and methodology; here, concerted efforts by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher Education, State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade and UzSSR Academy of Science are indispensable. Leading scientists and highly qualified teachers should take part in writing new textbooks; this work should also draw on the experience of other republics, in particular the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic and Trans-Caucasian republics.

Thousands of people who want to study the language independently want good textbooks, phrase books and dictionaries. Research in this area should be bolstered, more two- or three-language dictionaries published and special classes and workshops set up for those who want to attend them.

It is best to study Russian at a very young age, of course. Yet, the work at our pre-school facilities remains well below today's requirements, especially on the countryside. Day care facilities are often run by people with inadequate training and poor knowledge of Russian. The task of improving the situation falls primarily to the republic's Ministry of Education, which is responsible for the children's facilities. Local soviets and economic organizations should make a contribution as well. The work of child care facilities must be under constant control from party committees. The experience of advanced rayons, ones that increase the staffs of pre-school facilities and set up methodological centers of pre-school education pooling the resources of their kolkhozes and sovkhozes, should be disseminated more widely.

The role of the republic's Ministry of Culture in implementing the comprehensive "Russian Language" program should be significantly enhanced. Much should be done in this respect by Houses of Culture, which report to the ministry, as well as by workers' and kolkhoz clubs which are under their supervision. Who else should make sure that Russian language plays are performed by amateur theater groups or Russian songs sung on village stage? Rural libraries have a wide scope for action. Discussions and conferences on books by Russian writers, conducted in their own language, would be very useful. Particular care should be taken to supply rural libraries with Russian language books. Village clubs should offer Russian courses and should get concrete

assistance in this area from party organizations at farms, agencies and enterprises, from Russian language teachers and from party and labor veterans.

Many inventive projects encouraging the study of Russian could be introduced at dorms, in the fields and in common rooms at the workplace.

Internationalist friendship clubs, where young people correspond with each other, meet with their siblings from other fraternal republics and organize meetings with interesting visitors to Uzbekistan, should be encouraged by all means. Positive results could be achieved by sending employees on practical exchange trips to similar enterprises as well as kolkhozes and sovkhozes at other union republics.

The mass media, such as the republic-wide and local Russian language press, radio and television, are an effective tool for disseminating the Russian language. In addition to providing information and teaching the language, they should be used, most importantly, to motivate people ideologically. The task of the media, along with publishing houses specializing in popularization of science, is to develop and conduct various forms of propaganda for the Russian language, stressing the need for the entire population of the republic to know it. This need, even though it certainly exists on a social level, it is not always perceived on an individual level, which is why it is important to intensify propaganda work in this direction. Newspapers, radio and TV editorials should address the question of Russian studies more often; we need not only critical essays, but also advice and descriptions of positive practical experience.

The role of the people's deputies and komsomol in solving the Russian studies problems is very significant. It is important to make sure that komsomol organizations, especially those on the countryside, address these issues directly. The task here is not to make new decisions, pass new resolutions or stage endless events, but to conduct tangible organizational work that would enhance young people's interest in learning Russian, the language of inter-nationalities communication.

It is extremely important to radically alter the attitude of party and soviet organizations' management to this problem, which has great political significance and great implications for the successful implementation of the goals set by the 27th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. Only this approach can ensure full implementation of measures envisioned by the UzSSR's Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and fully developed in the comprehensive program "The Russian Language."

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**Moldavian SSR Minister of Education Facilitates Native Language Study**

18300368 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 p 4

[Interview with Moldavian SSR Minister of Education, D.G.Zidu: "Native Language is Both Purpose and Means"]

[Text] The editing board receives letters stating the need to improve the teaching of Bulgarian and Gagauz languages in the schools of the republic having students of Bulgarian ethnicity and Gagauz ethnical group. One correspondent asked the Moldavian SSR Minister of Education, D.G. Zidu, to comment on these letters.

[D.G. Zidu] In the South of the republic, namely, in the Komratskiy, Vulkaneshtskiy, Chadyr-Lungskiy, Tarkliyskiy, and other rayons, a substantial part of the population belongs to Bulgarians and Gagauzs. School lessons are carried out in Russian. In the late 50's an unsuccessful attempt to switch education in the schools with Gagauz students to the native language was made. I call it an unsuccessful attempt because the education in the native language was introduced in the elementary school. Beginning in the 5th grade, education was in Russian and the Gagauz language was studied only as an educational subject.

However, teaching practice has shown that teaching Russian as an educational subject in the elementary school did not provide the necessary language preparedness for the students. As a result, studies in the middle and senior classes were seriously impaired. This caused parental concern, and based on their insisting demands teaching in Russian in elementary school was again introduced in 1962. Unfortunately, at the same time nobody took care to preserve the native language as a subject. Obviously, it was a mistake, since pedagogical science proves and practice confirms that successful study of non-native language is possible only based on the native language.

[Question] Has the situation changed now, when we reassess the problems of international education?

[D.G. Zidu] Yes. Since 1 Sep 86 in the schools of the South of the republic, studies of the ethnic languages are introduced in the 7th grade, and since 1 Sep 87 they are introduced also in the 8th grade. Preliminarily, programs of lessons for courses in Gagauz and Bulgarian were developed, and text books were prepared and published. Work of preparing programs for the 9th and 10th grades is being carried out. A one-month course to prepare the Bulgarian and Gagauz language teachers was organized at the Institute for advancing teachers' qualifications.

The result of the past 2 years and data collected studying public opinion support the correctness and actuality of the work being started.

At the same time, analysis of the practices of studying the Gagauz and Bulgarian languages has shown that the measures being taken are extremely inadequate. Due to lack of time in the educational plan, study of native language is done at the expense of elective subjects, which leads to overloading the students. A wide exchange of opinions concerning these problems took place at the Ministry of education. Representatives of schools, departments of education, creative intelligentsia, and scientists—Bulgarians and Gagauzs participated in the meeting. The participants have agreed that a complex program of introducing a system of studying the Bulgarian and Gagauz languages beginning at kindergarten should be introduced. The basis of communications here will be the native language and children will start to learn Russian in games at age 5. School education will start at age 7 based on the 4-year school program. The system of studying Russian must be radically changed. At the present time, children study Russian using the program and textbooks for Russian schools. Therefore, we should revise the textbooks and methods of teaching Russian in the elementary schools and switch to textbooks for Russian schools only in junior high school.

As to the study of the Moldavian language, as we see it, it should be done on a voluntary basis. During the next school year the classes will be allowed to divide with nonuniform student composition into subgroups for studies of native languages (Gagauz, Bulgarian, and Moldavian). Those who wish to study both the native and Moldavian languages will have additional time provided by the educational plan.

[Question] All this requires, however, serious preparations, namely, publishing textbooks, methodical manuals. . .

[D.G.Zidu] Definitely. Collectives of authors of future textbooks are already being formed. It is scheduled that these textbooks will provide a wider correlation with the functioning language and will include materials of ethnographic and folklore nature, and information on Bulgarian and Gagauz culture. In this work we rely on the active help from the Department of Gagauz studies at the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences. It is somewhat simpler with the Bulgarian language textbook. The specialists from the Bulgarian Peoples Republic, who edited the textbook, kindly agreed to assist us in the venture. On September 1, children will receive as a present a textbook published in Bulgarian.

[Question] We also need teachers. What is being done by the Ministry in this regard?

[D.G. Zidu] This year the Kishinev teachers' institute will admit to the 1st course of the philological department 30 high school graduates of Bulgarian ethnicity and the Gagauz ethnical group for their specialization not

only in Russian, but also in native languages. Groups for studies of special courses in native languages will be organized from the body of senior students of this department.

Groups for preparing elementary schools teachers for schools with Bulgarian and Gagauz students will open at the Kagulskiy teachers school. Preparation of personnel by using a system of courses is continuing. At the present time, 30 of our Bulgarian language teachers are attending courses for advancing qualifications in the Bulgarian Peoples Republic.

[Question] And what is the status of the educational-material basis?

[D.G. Zidu] It is quite good exactly in these rayons. The most difficult situation is in the rayon centers. But it will change for the better already during this 5-year plan period.

In other words, large work is to be done in a field which would not tolerate either haste not procrastination in solving the problems which came into existence.

13355

#### **View of Women's Role in Workforce Needs Revision**

18300357 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 23, Jun 88 p 17

[Article by N. Kungurova, docent at the faculty of social sciences of the Belorussian Republic Institute for Teachers' Training, candidate in economics: "In Defense of the Fair Sex"; first two paragraphs are *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* introduction]

[Text] Most likely, many have fallen to thinking that there is some kind of incompatibility with nature when women and men work as equals and begin and end the work day together. After this, it is the lot of women to take on the burden of household duties, but for men, as a rule, this is a time of resting up from their work-related worries. Because the male gender is not adapted to the performance of those subtleties of household work which from the earliest times have been assigned to the fair half of humanity.

This is the difference. In everything else, the social rights have been evened out. Men and women are granted identical regular leaves, they have basically the same types of material and moral incentives. And many will ask themselves: Is this good for society? Is it worthwhile to glorify the all but absolute employment of women in social production? This is the subject of reflections by N. Kungurova, docent in the faculty of social sciences of the Belorussian Teachers' Training Republic Institute and candidate of economics.

The woman today is so equalized with the man that, seeing how she keeps her balance between work and home, you involuntarily ask yourself: Is this really true emancipation? Does the situation, in which she is compelled to carry out a double work norm—at work and at home—really fully accord with the humanist essence of our society?

Honest and truthful answers to these questions are especially needed now. It would seem that we talk a great deal about man and put him in the center of restructuring. The only thing is that man in our thinking frequently turns out to be abstract and sexless. Hiding behind departmental interests, and that under the cover of general state interests, we leave the women's question, as it were, in the shadow: Sometimes there were no funds, sometimes society had not yet matured. We want to be through with partial measures. But in the restructuring, which is called upon to be revolutionary, that is not how it turns out. Together with the radical transformation of society, our whole way of life will have to be radically restructured. And this, in the final analysis, is the creation, for the woman, of a position in society and in the family that is befitting precisely to her nature and dignity.

#### **Who Has Been Fortunate?**

Theoretically, the labor of women under socialism differs from labor in capitalist conditions by the possibility to combine it, painlessly for the family and the woman herself, with the birth and upbringing of children and the performance of household work. But are many women found in reality in our country who have been fortunate in this case? Yes, during the 70 October years already unusually much has been done in our country to improve the position of the woman, especially the working woman. Among the first, the decree on the equality of the sexes was adopted. Let us recall the enormous and noble activity in regard to the improvement of the position of working mothers which carried out by A. M. Kollontai, the first people's commissar for social security: The organization of children's shelters, public dining-rooms, kitchens, hospitals, schools, and medical and enlightenment trains. In spite of the difficult time which the young Soviet republic experienced, such important steps were taken in the solution of the women's question as the expansion of access to education, production work, the organization of the protection of health, labor, maternity and infancy.

However, beginning with the period of the industrialization of the country, the quantitative began to prevail over the qualitative character of the solution of the women's question. The acute necessity of the development of territories, the influx of additional hands into plants and factories gradually formed an approach to working women as to a reserve, which can occupy any working places. During the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War and the restoration period, we were compelled to intensify the quantitative approach.

Later we should have engaged in a thorough study of the labor of women, all the more so because the increase of the role of the human factor in production had already begun to influence the development of problems in this sphere. We did not do so. What is more, after numerous speeches about successes and achievements, we concealed delicate problems and showed them only in an "ironed-out" form.

But, remaining unresolved, the problems began to spread and to cover with their negative influence the demographic, economic and even the spiritual sphere of society. Not accidentally, after the completion of the mass involvement of women in social production (the mid-1960's), the countdown of many negative phenomena began: There was a sharp reduction in the birthrate, there was increase in the deathrate of children, child crime and drug addiction made their appearance among children. And who raises objections that, when a woman, in view of being extremely busy at her work, manages to remember her husband as her favorite man less and less often, he will begin to look for affection on the side? We are grown-up people, and there is no need to become similar to the ostrich, who hides his head in the sand. And are the divorces and the drunkenness of men really—in many respects not women's problems?

#### Do Not Look for the Woman

Today the quantitative approach to the labor of working women has reached, one can say, its apogee. It matured and is flourishing in splendid color even in scientific publications, to speak of practice at all. In scientific descriptions of the personality of the woman, don't bother to search for traits that are specific only for her—maternity, love for her children called forth by nature, concern for the family, her husband. It is difficult, very difficult, to find even descriptions of the differences of personality between woman and man. In our present-day schools we teach our children, neglecting such a "trifle" as the differences of sex, without a trace we ignore them in vocational instruction, obtaining, incidentally, of the woman a "masculinized" female professional, but not the female bearer of a whole series of professions identical with men.

If we ask what is the chief and basic obstacle to the professional growth of working mothers, one cannot doubt, the majority will answer: Family and everyday commitments. But now we open the journal SOTSIALISTICHESKIY TRUD and leaf through its issues—4, 6, and 8 for 1986 and also later ones. And we will see how proudly "labor activity" sits on the reigning throne and how the "family and household function" bustles past it in the role of an unfortunate stepdaughter, who has lost faith in her bright future. The journal proposes a whole collection of measures for the elimination of this very function "in space and in time," its pages are permeated with complete disinclination to adjust "labor activity" to the specific character of the woman's labor power.

Let us look at our legal documents on this question. The law, as is well known, is not accustomed to jest, for this reason it unambiguously and in all seriousness raised this function to the rank of those guilty of holding back the professional growth of women. In 1979 women who are mothers were given the right to raise their qualifications on advantageous conditions. This measure, however, did not take root; no more than 1-2 percent of the women to whom it extends are making use of it.

Well, where is the way out? The main path in the improvement of the position of the working woman, especially the woman who is a mother, is the change of the work itself, its character and organization. Not the woman should be adapted to work, but the work to the woman. Otherwise we shall be treating not the illness, but its consequences. Thus, the extended research conducted by sociologists has shown that family and everyday commitments are not, as people often think, the main reason that is holding back the professional activity of women. For a whole series of professions, the backwardness of their qualification level is noted independently of the presence of a family, the number and age of children. Family and everyday commitments do not give rise to, but only intensify the backwardness.

As the data of the Scientific Research Institute for Labor indicate, in machine building, where half of the work is still being carried out manually, the share of high ranks among women is two times lower than among men. Moreover, in the presence of identical work being carried out by men and women in identical conditions, the equality of qualification levels does not lead to an identical work effect. For a number of professions, the execution of shift tasks among women is approximately one-fourth less than among men. The research of the Scientific Institute for Labor Hygiene and Vocational Diseases of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences also indicates that in identical production conditions women, especially with small children, become ill more often, they are more prone to develop vocational diseases, and they occur in especially severe form.

We must understand: The approach to the working woman "from male positions" has already become obsolete. To replace it, life itself has prepared a new view of the working woman, as the bearer of a new quality of professional work. Her calling is to introduce her own, female element into the development of production, and thus into society and culture. This will become one of the most important steps in the realization of the social orientation of our economy and will be conducive to the humanization of social life.

#### And Nevertheless Work

Lately one increasingly often encounters the view that women, who are raising children, in general do not need to work. Moreover, this point is argued with the advantages for society and the mother herself. Such a view of the woman absolutely does not hold up to criticism and

is the logical completion of the already examined quantitative approach, although on the surface it may appear as its opposite. As a matter of fact, if we continue to look at the working mother from the currently dominating (more correctly, monopolistically existing) quantitative positions and in so doing see in labor under socialism only the source of existence, then the woman who is a mother (out of social and, possibly, economic considerations) should be completely freed from work outside the home. And, moreover, material support should be extended to her since household work is useful and necessary for society. However, work under socialism differs from work under capitalism by the fact that it turns into a source of the development and self-expression of man.

Socialist society is interested in the work of women in social production because it expands to a significant extent the possibilities of its development and corresponds to our social tasks. Society should in every conceivable manner be interested in, encourage, and create various advantages and privileges for the working women who are mothers as participants in social production. One of the most important stages of the solution of this task is the formation of a qualitative approach to the work of women, for which a labor orientation by sex may be called to create the basis.

But it should be kept in mind that we all live in different regions and not only in the city. What is good for the working mother, for example, in the Baltic may only worsen her situation in Central Asia and not bring the desired result in the northern regions. For this reason everything that is undertaken to improve the position of working women only then will prove to be really useful when it will contain a regional aspect and take into account all special features and subtleties of the social and individual problems and interests.

City of Minsk.

8970

**Disgraced Uzbek Officials Await Trial for Bribery**  
*18000597 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 p 6*

[Interview with Yerezhep Aytmuratov, Abdukhalik Karimov and Alimbay Primov, defendants in Uzbekistan bribery scandal, by PRAVDA special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko: "The Column"; interview conducted in the isolated investigations ward of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, date not specified; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] We are still receiving reaction and commentary in response to the article "Cobras Over Gold" (PRAVDA, 23 January 88) which deals with the difficult struggle waged against organized crime in Uzbekistan over many years by an investigatory group of the USSR Procurator's Office. Many of the letters ask questions: "How on

earth could the Mafia appear over here? Why have not these criminals in high positions been called out by name?!" Now we learn that three of those accused in the matter of bribe taking in Uzbekistan have expressed the desire to meet with PRAVDA correspondents and answer any questions, including those showing internal corruption.

Our meeting took place in the isolated investigations ward of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. We wish to specially emphasize, and one must keep in mind, that we are talking with persons under investigation. We may be assured that on other occasions they would not be speaking this way. What prompted these people to give an interview? The answer becomes clear during the course of the conversation...

[Yerezhep Aytmuratov] (A former CC CP Uzbekistan secretary, he comes from a peasant-pauper family; he began as a teacher, then worked with the Komsomol and soviets; for a long period he headed the Karakalpak Council of Ministers): Was my party card taken away? Yes! Was I removed from my job position? Yes! Have I ruined the lives of my children? Yes! Will I get my pension, my benefits? No! So why confront me with criminal punishment as well? I have experience, I could really help the restructuring effort, right?...

[Abdukhalik Karimov] (A former party obkom first secretary, former Hero of Socialist Labor, he too comes from a peasant-pauper family; he worked as a teacher, served in the army, began his political career in the Komsomol): I have one goal now—to restore my health and maintain it, so I can die in the arms of my children and not as a dog behind a prison wall...

[Alimbay Primov] (A former party raykom first secretary, he also came from a poor family, began as a teacher, then worked in responsible economic management positions): I returned everything. Consider that repentance if you can. For words are words, and actions are actions. I returned everything. There's just one thing that keeps bothering me—a letter written by the peasants in my rayon... Do you know how they addressed the envelope? "Moscow, Lenin Mausoleum... Our own beloved Vladimir Ilyich! You are the only one we trust..."

[PRAVDA commentary] We note that the majority of individuals involved in this corruption on the managerial level, like the three we interviewed, come from simple families where hard and honest labor has always put bread on the table, where people would be accursed and thrown out of the house for theft or deceit. None of these were born bribe takers. They became such after receiving their education and advancing up the official ladder. How and why did they fall? They themselves are searching for the answer which can help us try to examine, as if from within, the origins of Rashidovism and the metastasis of organized crime...



[Aytmuratov] Everybody "took" and everybody "gave." At the end of the 70's we just about did it in the open.

[Karimov] At that time I was party raykom first secretary. I went on leave. One of the kolkhoz chairmen came up to me and shoved me an envelope with money in it. I started to refuse but he insisted: "Don't offend me. Look—it's customary." Yes, I knew about this "custom" but that's the first time I took a bribe.

[Primov] I was appointed manager of the rayon agricultural equipment department. I struggled for two years and nothing came of it. What happens when you get no equipment, no spare parts—you can't even get a nail?! A deputy who knew what was going on prompted me: give something to so-and-so and so-and-so upstairs. And everything changed just like in a fairy tale—a treasure of assets and resources came falling down on me. Both in the oblast and with board members in Tashkent there was no scolding—they rather commended it.

[Aytmuratov] If your aim is not to make a caricature out of us, but you are rather truly interested in society developing some kind of antidote to the layer of bureaucracy I represent, then I will be sincere. The Rashidovist system implies that one does not have the right not to be "on the take." If you don't "take," it means you're already half traitor. If you don't "give"—it's one hundred percent. You'll either be flung out of your chair—and a little later out of the party—or you'll lose your life...

[Karimov] This began a long time ago. Do you remember the Khrushchev saying that in three years we would surpass America in meat, milk and egg production? In order to do this, as was explained to us, it was necessary to fulfill two annual plans in a single year. In 1959 Rashidov was selected first secretary of the CC CP Uzbekistan. In order to distinguish himself he forced the republic to execute three plans in one year. He punished mercilessly those who tried to show this was unrealistic. Then began the universal eyewash, the padded data and every kind of intrigue and maneuver. Economic venturism is a breeding ground for crime. And how many shady ventures did we go through?!

[Primov] I was at a conference in Tashkent attended by Brezhnev. Rashidov promised at that time to deliver more than five million tons of cotton in one year. I remember so well Leonid Ilyich's comment: "Round it off, Sharafchik, to six million!" And Rashidov's reply: "Done, Leonid Ilyich!" Then the next day there were appeals and slogans all over the republic. Here's how things turned out—they ruined the land, squandered billions of rubles, created a monstrous system of false, padded data, and deprived many thousands of people of moral reference.

However, attempts to explain Rashidovism using only the proverbial formula "A fish rots from the head" will lead nowhere. Reality is a far cry from that. Certainly the

head determines a great deal—but not the strategy of crime at all. This is engendered by a tremendous bureaucratic swamp in which dozens of unnecessary ministries and departments are bubbling. Thousands of voracious officials arise to demand, and demand, and demand. One is responsible for delivery of nuts, another—for bolts, a third—for bushings... And to each one you give, give, give... You do it in the oblast, you do it in Tashkent, you do it in Moscow.

[Karimov] I myself was among those craving such luxurious assets and in the cohort of those who gave them. Take me away and you'll find another right there just like me.

[PRAVDA commentary] Today they claim it was impossible not to offer or accept bribes, that higher authority is guilty of everything and that they are victims of the will of others. Of course they believe this constitutes mitigating circumstances in their behalf which the impending trial is obligated to take into account. But there were other circumstances which, during the very same times, governed the activities of thousands of simple communists—conscience, honor, duty, and the courage to make sacrifices for the sake of truth. Such courage has been lacking in most of the Uzbek leadership. Moreover, they have been ruled by the "demon" of hoarding, filching and profiting at others' expense. Incredible valuables were confiscated from them—gold coins, jewelry, money.

And again we asked—why? For what purpose?

[Aytmuratov] You must remember that young cadres have been educated over many years, taught that when you support the opinion of those higher in authority your career opportunities are open; when you go against it—you dig yourself into a hole. We also have our customs—you respect older individuals and do not dare to contradict them. This is why we have looked the other way in the republic when religious rites and ceremonies are propagated. There has even been a catering to this. We have educated slaves...

[Karimov] There were people in the beginning of the 1970's who tried to swim against the current. They were drowned unmercifully. With my own eyes I saw in Samarkand Oblast how Khamrakulov, Rashidov's nephew and future oblispolkom chairman, ordered around the party obkom and legal institutions. He crippled the destiny of anyone who tried to speak his own mind. Bribe taking flourished under the wing of such "autocrats" of the worst caliber. Do you think that in giving Rashidov the usual bribe I only insured my own job-position immunity? No, I knew it would turn into a direct benefit... I would receive resources and materials and be able to straighten out enterprise operations, a production and efficiency plus in itself. But in distributing those same resources and materials to my subordinates, I knew I would recover my losses. And that's the



way it worked. When he presented me my Hero of Socialist Labor star, Rashidov whispered that such things do not come free. And I gave him money for the star.

In the East you don't speak ill of the dead, and I will refrain from any kind of moral commentary. I want to say just one thing. Once or twice a year Rashidov would travel around all the oblasts of the republic with his wife and, apart from everything else, would collect tribute from us, the obkom secretaries. This was considered to be in the order of things.

[Aytmuratov] I am not going to enumerate all those who gave to me and those to whom I gave. Suffice it to say that as a central committee secretary I gave, within the central committee of the republic itself, to several other secretaries standing higher than me on the official ladder. These include Rashidov, of course. I also gave to prominent Moscow officials...

[PRAVDA] We try to grasp the scope, the strength of the pillars on which the "temple" of Rashidovism was supported. On one hand we see a management of intricate, intertwined bureaucratic ties, awkward instructions deliberately developed, various directives prohibiting and authorizing.

[Primov] They force a low-level manager to go begging to a clerk in the ispolkom, raykom or agricultural sector. A capillary suction of little bribes begins. On another floor—the inter-departmental directorship level—there arises a simpler yet very strong vascular system of "bribe confluence" into a powerful channel. Then the moment arrives when a "tributary" from this flow heads off to the offices of the higher authorities in oblast, republic, Moscow... But there are many subtleties here—the thread is woven cunningly and over great distances before reaching the very "top."

But the most significant thing is that there exists a vertical column in the party or soviet organizational system. The raykom secretary does not "take" from the foreman—unless, of course, he is a relative. I "took" only from a confidant. The obkom secretary operates the same way, not to mention the central committee official. Here it is important to understand that the column may be chopped up while the "system" remains.

[PRAVDA] Listening now to these remarks in the investigations section, you realize that all the previous verbiage about how we do not have organized crime—because this cannot be—is not coincidental. In the Brezhnev days mafiosi penetrated the highest echelons of power. To their own ends they influenced not only development of the economy, but legislation as well. Investigators, the procurator's office and the court were placed in such circumstances that criminal cases against bribe takers, embezzlers of state property and organizers of corruption were practically negated—this is confirmed by the crime statistics which, incidentally, remain

to this day inaccessible to the people. This, you can be sure, is also to the liking of characters from the world of organized crime. How can we cut off its metastasized tentacles that are extending to every sphere of our lives, to the very foundation of our socialist society?

It would be difficult to agree that the matter which has brought the individuals being interviewed to criminal justice is particularly Uzbek in its nature. Corruption has no nationality. This is a phenomenon country-wide in scale—Rashidov and a number of people from the Brezhnev entourage only played the roles of switchmen. Dreadful, yes—but switchmen. The most important thing is to examine the phenomenon itself. Corruption is powerful first and foremost by virtue of the bureaucratic principle of promotion and cadre appointment at all levels.

[Karimov] We had a rigid rule—you put only your own people in a responsible position, no one else! And your own were nurtured and tested over the years. A person lost kinship with his people, with his country... He did not believe in the genius of "Rashidov the leader," but in the principle itself of "the leader." He developed an antidote against conscience, glasnost, democratism, and used it to inflict those around him...

[PRAVDA] Today the individuals we are interviewing show remorse in what they have done and wish to convince us of it. But is it possible such thoughts are coming to them for the first time? Of course not. But previously everything was overshadowed by the thirst for power and money-making, and by impunity over a long period of time—for them and those like them. All the same, fear accompanied their every movement, every breath. But it was already too late to stop. Confidence in "the leader" led to a confidence in their own invulnerability.

[Aytmuratov] Many people were imprisoned in the 60's and 70's, but never from our circle. It is no accident that Rashidov was buried in the highest (in accordance with Eastern ethics), most sacred place of honor. We all believed that as long as Rashidov was lying there, in the square, we would not be touched... Even when the demand issued from Moscow not to bury him there, we disobeyed... And now when they transferred his remains elsewhere, many—I, for example—became alarmed, although up until the last minute I never believed they would arrest me. After all, it discredits the entire party when you arrest someone on my level. At least that's what I thought earlier.

[Karimov] During the stagnation years it was nowhere near the "high ranks" that they arrested. The more powerful officials were transferred from one position to another or quietly sent away on pension, with honors—medals and decorations. We see this now as well.

[Primov] Up until recently, and now as well, I believe, they have been pursuing "switchmen" in Uzbekistan. Even if the procurator's office does not bring them up on criminal charges, they still lose their jobs and are driven out of the party. The purpose is clear—to frighten people so that they will not cooperate with the investigation, not provide testimony voluntarily. In this way those who have in fact deformed the characters of these people and turned them into meek slaves are protected. It is for this reason that a rumor was started to the effect that investigative teams of the USSR Procurator's Office were using "various tablets" in their efforts, were "beating and tormenting relatives," and that those who honestly return what was stolen "will be the first ones imprisoned." This is beneficial to those who fear they will eventually get their turn. Thus they exert every effort to erect a solid wall between investigatory agencies and the people...

[PRAVDA] There are some today who would attempt to entertain the idea that, well, they "gave" and "took" in Uzbekistan—and not only there—in order to get things moving, being concerned about the well-being of the rayon, oblast and republic. We believe this version is far from accurate and benefits only the mafia organizers, who want to convince us that without bribes we will not develop the economy; we will not feed, clothe or outfit the country. "Special," super-favorable conditions have therefore been created for the bribe-taking leadership. Those who refuse to cooperate are strangled by the unavailability of capital investments and are not allocated material resources or equipment. Efforts are made to dispose the common people against them. The honest people "have left." Those who have joined the mafia remain.

[Karimov] I never thought of myself as an individual, even though I had attained tremendous power. I was just a screw in the bureaucratic—and criminal—mechanism. I was afraid. We were all afraid of one another. We lived in isolation. I applied for my pension. But even to get that I had to give a bribe...

[PRAVDA] The investigation will end. Our interviewees will stand trial and receive punishment as they merit. But questions will remain which cannot be answered in just one investigation. It is up to all of us to answer them—and with utter honesty.

For the column which serves to provide Rashidov support will come tumbling down, but it has not yet been severed. There are those who are trying to hold it up in prosecuting the mafia's "lower officials" while leaving the "generals" alone. They are today impeding the efforts of the USSR Procurator's Office, curtailing its activities in the Uzbek republic.

The sense of alarm therefore remains. And it will not depart until such time as we identify all those people who need economic disorder, social injustice, a caste of "untouchable" bureaucrats and other conditions which

cause a mafia to grow and flourish. Otherwise we will not fulfill one of the chief decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference—the creation of a socialist legal state.

We recall the letter written in despair by the Uzbek kolkhoz farmers: "Moscow. The Mausoleum. V. I. Lenin..." We want to talk about the destiny of the writers, which is somewhat complicated. An examiner arrived from Moscow and said to Primov: "There's no use crying over spilled milk—but you are obliged by whatever means possible to get from each of the writers his handwritten acknowledgement that he has no further claims and is satisfied with the proceedings."

And the acknowledgements were obtained. How? We can only guess. The most important thing is that the examiner left satisfied, completely so we may say frankly.

What did the peasants write about? About what the former raykom secretary risked saying only in the investigations ward—that the actions of Rashidov and those like him became an instigation for crime before the people and the state; they led to increased corruption.

The peasants told the truth and paid the price.

All of this happened just seven years ago...

9768

### **Man Falsely Accused of Bribery Demands Publication of Acquittal**

*18000571a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 p 2*

[Article by Yu. Nikolayev, under the rubric: "Returning to What was Written—'Decay'—5 April 87:" "On the Price of Damage"]

[Text]

### **A Letter to the Editors**

In April and June of 1987 two articles were published in your newspaper under the signature T. Bondarenko ("Decay" and "In the Realm of Decay"), which reported on the institution of criminal proceedings against me. On May 27, 1988 I was notified by the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office that the criminal case against me had been dismissed. The leadership of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office sent me an official apology. They are restoring the damage done to me for the 7 months and 14 days spent in the investigation agency's solitary confinement cell. The matter of holding accountable those persons, who made groundless decisions regarding me, is being considered.

In accordance with the Regulation on the Procedure for Compensating Damages, Caused to a Citizen by the Illegal Actions of Agencies of Inquiry, of Preliminary

Investigation, the Prosecutor and the Court, ratified by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on 18 May 1981, I request that you publish an account in your newspaper on the dismissal of this criminal case and the punishment of those who participated in making groundless decisions against me. (N. Surkov)

[Author:] It would, perhaps, be possible to limit ourselves to publishing this letter, the more so since its author had reasonably requested that the newspaper inform readers of the dismissal of the criminal investigation, since it had reported the arrest to them. He does not make any other claims and there are no grounds for such. In the article referred to by N. Surkov, "Decay," it was stipulated that "...it is not a question of criminal activities. The people's court will study the evidence and decide whether or not Surkov was involved." The article's theme was formulated in the subtitle beneath "Decay:" "An Atmosphere Which Engenders the Betrayal of Social Duty." This atmosphere was also the subject of journalistic inquiry.

Now, as for the second request by the letter's author: reporting on the punishment of those who took part in the unsubstantiated decisions. The editors sought explanations.

#### Commentary by S.A. Yemelyanov, RSFSR Prosecutor

Indeed, the criminal charges of bribery against N.A. Surkov, instituted by the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office at the end of February 1987, were dropped. I punished the investigator for particularly important cases, Counselor of Justice B.A. Tarasov, for making a superficial investigation of the criminal case against Surkov and unfounded decisions regarding his arrest, and for dismissing the criminal prosecution of I.D. Radchenko. The chief of the prosecutor's office investigative section, Senior Justice Counselor Ye.K. Lisov, was severely reprimanded for failure to take official measures to organize the complete and comprehensive investigation of said case. A penalty was imposed upon Deputy Prosecutor I.S. Zemlyanushin for his uncritical assessment of the evidence in deciding to arrest Surkov. The attention of N.S. Trubin, RSFSR first deputy prosecutor and state justice counselor third class, was directed to the unfounded sending of this case to court...

I would like to emphasize that we are in no way trying to somehow shield employees who have made errors. On the contrary, each step of the investigation has been subjected to a most thorough and impartial analysis, with the corresponding conclusions. This is natural: after all, in order to institute criminal proceedings against someone and then arrest him as well, very convincing evidence is needed. Apparently, there was not enough proof.

However, now, when it would seem that justice has been restored, the charges against the person under investigation have been dropped, and those guilty of the acknowledged unfounded decisions have been punished, things are far from satisfactory, since too many "blank spots" have been left in this story.

As is well known, the case of the former Belgorod Oblispolkom Chairman, N.A. Surkov, did not arise all by itself but as a result of an investigation of criminal bribery cases and other official crimes, committed by more than 20 responsible officials. The people's court has convicted A.Ye. Polyakov, oblispolkom deputy chairman; Z.P. Gubareva, chief of the oblast trade administration; G.S. Drygin, Belgorod Rayispolkom chairman; V.F. Kurganskiy, department chief of the oblast Internal Affairs Administration; and G.A. Yayloyan, general director of the oblast Construction Materials Production Association... They all associated closely with the oblispolkom chairman, acted under his protection and, frequently, on his direct orders as well.

In the course of the investigation it became clear that Surkov himself, while working as first deputy and then as chairman of the oblispolkom, had supported illegal practices in automobile distribution. Moreover, abusing his public position, he systematically gave orders to trade administration and oblast consumers' union leaders regarding the sale of automobiles to individuals, who had not been on the waiting list and had no additional rights or privileges whatsoever, out of turn. On his personal orders, over 40 GAZ-24 automobiles and about 100 "Zhigulis" were sold. Of these, based on obviously personal considerations, orders were given to sell 15 "Volgas" and 28 "Zhigulis" with various modifications. Often, several cars were sold to the very same people, or were even sold beyond the oblast borders. Almost every year the oblispolkom issued instructions signed by the chairman, demanding the absolute observance of existing legislation regarding the sale of automobiles to the population, yet Surkov himself did not take the laws into account.

While investigating abuses regarding automobiles (114 GAZ-24 alone had been illegally sold in the oblast), much evidence was acquired to the effect that Surkov had performed services far from selflessly. Not all of the evidence was later confirmed. There is also the story of his being bribed by N.V. Mamontov, a supervisor at the Borisovskiy Rayispolkom Road-Building Administration, and by I.D. Radchenko, an engineer from the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz, which had seemed quite convincing during the investigation. They had shown where, how and to whom they had given the bribes (5,000 and 6,000 rubles), in order to acquire a GAZ-24 automobile out of turn. In both cases Radchenko was the direct bribe-giver. During the interrogations, both orally and written, he firmly confirmed the facts, without discrepancies. He also confirmed his original testimony in a confrontation with Surkov.

Surkov was charged according to article 173, section II of the RSFSR Criminal Code on 27 March 1987. He was arrested on the same day. The criminal case with an accusatory conclusion was sent for judicial examination on August 26. Radchenko was released from criminal accountability for giving bribes, based on article 174 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. On October 5, the RSFSR Supreme Court judicial collegium for criminal affairs returned the case for additional investigation. Along with other circumstances requiring additional verification, the court also suggested that the investigation agencies hold Radchenko criminally accountable for bribing. Since then, Radchenko began first to contradict his own evidence and then to completely deny that which he himself had confirmed previously...

I am relating this in such detail intentionally, to give an idea of how difficult it was for the investigators to make a decision under these circumstances. There is also another aspect to the problem. What will be done with Radchenko now? In the decision to dismiss the criminal case against N.A. Surkov, it was noted that the investigative materials against I.D. Radchenko regarding false denunciation and the instigation of bribery should be assigned for special investigation. However, for the time being this is not being carried out properly. Some people, and not only in Belgorod, are now trying to portray this turn of the investigation as a kind of "prosecutor's revenge" for losing the case.

A large group of people who had been involved in illegal activities are serving sentences. However, to this day it remains unclear, in general, just how an entire motor pool's worth of "Zhiguli" and "Volga" automobiles were in fact farmed out to oblast leaders. There are plenty of ambiguities in the closed "Surkov case" as well.

[Author:] To this day, various false rumors are circulating throughout Belgorod Oblast concerning said investigations. A.I. Ivanov, oblast prosecutor, answered readers' questions about how the Surkov case was closed in BELGORODSKAYA PRAVDA on 22 June. This not only failed to dispel all doubts, but also sparked interest in the muddled story. Our editors are receiving letters as well, whose authors are asking: should not the "former oblispolkom chairman be restored to the party after his acquittal?" In any event, rumors about this are quite wide-spread...

**Commentary by I.S. Gustov, First Deputy Chairman,  
CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee**

Above all, we must separate the issues of party accountability and of the prosecution of N.A. Surkov in a criminal case. The Party Control Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Department for Organizational and Party Work, on the instructions of the Central Committee, checked numerous reports from Belgorod Oblast concerning the unworthy conduct of then oblispolkom chairman, communist N.A. Surkov. Unfortunately, not only were the alarming reports verified, but a

depressing picture of flouting the norms of party life and moral foundations by a large group of leaders was exposed as well. In general, the behavior of Surkov, who held a very responsible position, did not fit within any framework whatsoever.

The Party Control Committee has expelled N.A. Surkov from the party for systematically abusing a public position for mercenary purposes, moral and everyday decay and unjust interference in the work of administrative agencies. At the same time, the Belgorod CPSU Obkom was instructed to examine the question of holding to party accountability other leaders, who have led an amoral, wild lifestyle, have arranged drunken parties with subordinate employees and have involved girls and young married women in them. Besides Surkov, who was frequently an initiator and instigator of drunken orgies, it was also a question of A.I. Nikitenko, former chief of the oblast "Agropromkhiymiya" Association; V.I. Konovalov, former Belgorod Oblispolkom department head; V.V. Kondratyev, former chief of the oblast agricultural administration, and others.

These drunken parties were held at the "Tavrovo," "Ugrim," "Shchebekino" and "Dubovoye" rest resorts, the "Druzhba" Hotel, obkom and oblispolkom dachas, private apartments and other places. Several dozen people were drawn into this debauched sphere of influence. Numerous accounts by participants and other people (about 70 accounts in all) testify to the immoral nature of these pleasure "measures." It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to assess the moral damage inflicted upon society by the escapades of leaders, who have lost their moral criteria, and their stooges. At the very least, it seems odd that some people are still inclined to view holding them to strict accountability as "cadre persecution" and "a prejudiced attitude toward previously respected people."

[Author:] Nonetheless, attempts to pass black off as white, to diminish the guilt of leading playboys and swindlers who have overstepped the mark, have not stopped. The correctness of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's position, which showed the complete moral decay within Surkov's sphere of influence, is also being called into question. The investigation of the participants in these dirty affairs and witnesses to them is continuing in earnest.

The reckoning here is cynical and simple. The newspaper correspondent could not and did not wish, out of a feeling of basic disgust, to depict the repugnant details of said officials' "private life." One must also keep in mind that the women, willingly or unwillingly involved in the orgies, still have to live in their own city. Today the defenders of the "offended" (now already former) administration are profiting from this as well, forcing the review of previous reports. Those who have acquired automobiles via circuitous maneuvers hardly favor a frank elaboration of circumstances which are risky for them.

However, this in no way indicates that it is time to free from accountability those who have not warranted the mandate of the people's trust and the high title of communist.

13362

### **Philosopher Suggests Official Approach to Unofficial Groups**

18000571b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by A. Momdzhyan, candidate of philosophical sciences, Leninist Komsomol prize winner: "So Where Did the Newcomers Come From?"]

[Text] Throughout time, the problem of "fathers and sons," the search for an ideal and for the meaning of life has been fairly acute. Marx called the situation of youth in society the tragedy of the young generation, which finds the world already formed and does not always realize that it can change things. Today, we are seeing how the young person's need for an ideal, his inherent maximalism, frequently conflicts sharply with reality, with bureaucratism, interference and the glaring violations of socialist legality and social justice.

The striving of youth for self-realization and self-assertion is expressed particularly clearly in the spontaneously arising youth groups, which are alienated from official social institutions. It is for precisely this reason that the article "Newcomers?" in the 22 May 1988 newspaper is sparking interest. The formulation of the question (starting with the title question) is accurate in principle, since today it is very important to understand just where these "newcomers" came from and what the objective reasons are for their appearance in our society. Evidently, this phenomenon should not be exclusively associated with whatever intrigues there might be or with obsolete methods. The key to understanding the formation of these groups lies above all in society itself, in its socioeconomic and political structures and the characteristics of our times.

We were all children once. Yet computerization, standardization, robotization, "televization," etc., etc., which comprise the faith of our time, lead all the same, and fairly often, to the blurring of each individual face, a loss of individuality and the cultural alienation of the individual. On the other hand, there is the complication of social ties and social structures, the formation of group behavioral norms... How can we resolve this contradiction? Today the entire world is pondering this problem.

In our high-speed era the shortage of personal contact, which far from always draws youth to palaces of culture and sports halls, is felt particularly keenly: many, in their search for free self-expression, end up beyond the limits of social institutions and are often left out of the objective processes of social change.

The process of forming such groups is particularly characteristic of the 1980s and occurs not only in the West, but also in many socialist countries, including ours, involving millions of people, if you believe the statistics.

Whereas in the 1960s-1970s the majority of Western studies on youth social consciousness noted a growth in its consumer approach to life, toward the end of the 1970s-early 1980s they had established that active interest in solving social problems was all the more opposed to the flight to the individual sphere. Unfortunately, we did not carry out such large-scale studies at that time. The extent of our young people's political activeness at that time would hardly have overjoyed us. Today's situation is hardly mere historical chance or, in our case, the simple consequence of obsolete methods for Komsomol work with youth. (I think that it is radically incorrect to consider the entire history of the Komsomol as "formal," since even at its first congress the question of a creative attitude toward such initiatives was raised). True, the 20th Komsomol Congress acknowledged the mistakes previously permitted in this work: thus it is even more important today to delve thoroughly into the nature of these mistakes which, of course, cannot be separated from all that we have lived by in the past years.

The slackness of political life during the period of stagnation and the administrative-command management system has contributed to depersonalization and moral degradation. Today, young people's emotional perception of social injustice complicates the process of continuity in the ideals and values of socialism, the more so since deviations from these ideals in practice, of course, are affecting the situation of youth in society—both in labor, everyday life, culture and politics. After all, it is no secret that at the present time different forms of social inequality and unequal opportunities for access to material and spiritual valuables exist under socialism. Alas, anti-socialist elements still exist as well, the consolidation of which leads to corruption, which sometimes involves entire industries and departments...

All of this cannot slip past the young person, in whom patience and inertia have not yet been instilled, and who, like everyone else, wants to live in an ideal society. The lack of professional maturity and social experience, youthful isolationism and maximalism, naturally, engender a certain critical stance. Hence, many young people also feel drawn to the past. In this regard, one should keep in mind that the heightened emotional reaction of youth to the contradictions in and abundance of information does not always stay within the limits of the young person's biological adaptation capabilities, placing him in a situation of emotional defenselessness...

The formation of various "unofficial" associations primarily reflects the growing activeness of youth in the democratization of social life and their striving toward various types of creativity. It also reflects a dissatisfaction with the obsolete administrative-command forms of work, targeted at the masses or the average person.

Naturally, young people are rushing into independent activity with great satisfaction, as though it had been organized especially for them. The various clubs and associations which arose under the revolutionary mottoes of democratization and glasnost have activated youth political life and stimulated young people's creative exploration, with its natural demands for changes, for overcoming obstacles, and its striving for the ideal.

There is no longer any need to prove to anyone that fantasists or break dancers, numismatic groups, amateur computer clubs and various special interest clubs have a social nature. However, life does not stand still. Ever more often new and unfamiliar sociopolitical clubs are appearing, and ever more often the same familiar "leisure-time" associations are displaying an interest in politics, in a civic and political stance. How should we treat them? I think that we should regard them as a natural (and gratifying) consequence of the politicalization of social consciousness and as a revivification of sociopolitical life.

Of course, inadequate social maturity and lack of life experience can also lead some young people to socially pathological manifestations of such activeness. Unfortunately, we also have individual examples in our country of speeches and youth organizations of an asocial nature, of a religious-sectarian, anti-social and nationalistic nature, not to mention bands, gangs and cases of cruelty and vandalism among young people. The situation is also contributed to by the fact that the leaders of certain informal groups are promoting programs with an anarchic and terroristic slant and are demanding a return to pre-revolutionary values...

Naturally, there are few such manifestations and we should be very precise and cautious in evaluating them.

We should also keep the objective causes in mind.

With regard to new phenomena in our lives, difficulties of a traditional nature sometimes come up. Many people fail to understand the essence of socialist pluralism, identifying it with bourgeois pluralism. Somehow, over recent decades, it has been forgotten that a diversity of opinions and points of view is legitimate and natural for a socialist society, that this is one of Marx's main ideas and reflects his approach to the world and society.

Naturally, the problem of social control over this process on the people's part remains. Naturally, in any society pluralism is limited by the framework of that society itself. Every social system has its own laws and development reserves, its own limitations. In this regard, Marx stated that "the law can never be higher than the society's economic structure and the cultural development of society stipulated by it." However, we must not overlook the fact that these limitations were themselves an object of speculation during the period of stagnation, and were discussed so extensively that frequently that

which was most progressive was suppressed under their pretext... Clarity is required here.

Yes, we will forbid narcotics and prostitution, pornography and violence, racism and chauvinism, nationalism and the advocacy of war, vandalism and the humiliation of the individual. A measure of diversity should exclude all of this. Is there such a delimiter? Of course: it is the USSR Constitution, our ideals. Opportunely, social opinion is also mature enough to cut short anything that is unacceptable. Such social control is inconceivable outside of the conditions of glasnost and democratization. Every such accusation must be argued and proven: we must give each person the opportunity to be convinced that it is just. We know what accusations "behind one's back" can turn into...

All of this should also determine today's methods of Komsomol work under the new conditions: no shouting, no banning, no edifying tone, but above all a search for new models of social interaction. The attempts to unify independent associations in the Ukraine and Armenia within the framework of the Committee for Youth Organizations is interesting. Thus, the first steps along this new and difficult path—steps away from bureaucratic methods of work with youths and toward political methods—have already been taken. I believe that they will continue and that today's Komsomol has sufficient courage, decisiveness, patience and wisdom to rally youth, despite its entire diversity of interests and viewpoints, around our socialist ideals, values and goals.

13362

#### **MVD Official Interviewed on Current Correctional Labor System**

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Jul 88 p 22*

[Interview of I. Katargin, member of the collegium of the USSR MVD and chief of the Main (Unified) Administration for Correctional Affairs, by A. Illesha]

[Text] [Question] For many years our press practically never raised questions related to the situation in the system of corrective labor institutions [ITU's]. Therefore it seemed that the colonies and jails were more a facet of artistic literature than a part of our everyday life. Even today many aspects of the activity of this system are handled as top secret matters. Well, for example, the number of persons serving prison sentences in the country is not given. What do you think, Ivan Nikiforovich, should we talk about the problems of the ITU's and how far can the discussion go today? Is an outside look beyond the barbed wire, which then means social monitoring of places of incarceration, necessary at all?

[Answer] I think that the problems of the ITU's are being treated quite broadly in our press. A number of articles, dealing in particular with questions of the domestic and

labor arrangements for persons being released from the colonies and jails, were very helpful to the internal affairs organs and helped draw public attention to this problem. So the question of whether glasnost in treating the work of ITU's is necessary does not arise for us: it is unquestionably necessary! It is another matter that journalists must show maximum competence, procedural literacy, and sense of responsibility when treating such a complex subject. Unfortunately, by no means everything that is printed suits us. And the question of open publication of statistical information on the number of persons being kept in places of incarceration is now under discussion. The discussion is moving to an even broader level, removing a number of restrictions on information about crime.

[Question] The process of democratization of society touches the system of ITU's in one way or another. I have in mind the humanization of criminal law, the approach of the court organs that are increasingly employing punishment that does not entail loss of freedom, and even certain documents of the USSR MVD which regulate procedures in the colonies. And the last amnesty? It was the first to reach such broad strata of convicts, even dangerous recidivists. What problems are arising in your work in this connection?

[Answer] There really are problems in this area. Not least among them is the fact that the proportion of recidivists who have committed serious crimes has increased. This has complicated the situation. In these conditions it is necessary to review the whole idea of the work of the ITU's and look for new forms of work with convicts. This has also broken down mental stereotypes that have been established among ITU employees for many years.

[Question] Continuing about the amnesty. This humane act permitted many tens of thousands of convicts to be freed just last year. But their problems do not end at the walls of the colony. On the contrary, they are just beginning. It is difficult for them to take up a normal life. Society often is still not ready to accept them. There are many complaints about the difficulties of job placement, that organizations (especially those on cost accounting) simply reject such people. There are also problems with receiving documents, for example military cards. And when such a person runs into these problems, in the end he often cannot withstand it and "decides" them in his accustomed way: he returns to crime. So there is a new check in the "recidivism" column. What does the militia do in this situation and, in general, can it do anything concrete about it? What potential does it have for influencing the fate of a former "ward"?

[Answer] You have raised a very important and pointed question. We are greatly occupied with the problems of former prisoners, the questions of giving such people timely help in domestic and work arrangements and returning them to a normal way of life. The USSR MVD today, together with other criminal law organs, is completing preparation of a draft Statute on Domestic and

Labor Placement for persons released from criminal sentences. It includes legal guarantees for this category of persons during their social adaptation. I think it is essential to broaden the system of boarding houses for elderly and disabled persons who are released from the colonies. We should abolish the restrictions on residence permits for persons convicted of certain types of crimes. This will help them arrange their domestic life and restore disrupted family relationships more successfully.

Now I want to talk about the "path" by which people most often return to the colony. That is drunkenness. Questions of anti-alcohol work with ex-convicts are very important in preventing new crimes. This is not accidental. Statistics show that in 1987 the number of crimes that had criminal investigations and were committed by ex-convicts in an intoxicated state increased by 21 percent, and their share of the total number of persons who committed crimes through drunkenness was 47 percent. That is why it is important to place them at work immediately and at the same time begin treating the ex-convict at his place of work. These narcological dispensaries have been set up and proven themselves at the Minsk Automotive Plant, the ZIL and AZLK plants in Moscow, the Voronezh Agricultural Machine Plant, and the Prokopyev China Plant.

[Question] The press has already written about the so-called "bomzh's," that is people without a definite place of residence, in other words, hoboes or bums. We know that this group is growing considerably through ex-convicts who have not been able to find a place for themselves in freedom.

[Answer] That problem really does exist. In 1987 the distribution stations held a significant number of people who had taken up hoboing in their first year after release. The proportion of ex-convicts in the number detained for vagrancy has hardly declined at all in the last 5 years. That proportion is more than 60 percent. One of the reasons for these wasted lives is that convicts lose the right to housing space when their term of incarceration exceeds 60 months. Analysis shows that more than two-thirds of those who have criminal records and are detained for vagrancy are alone or bachelors. In this situation the norms of civil and housing law which define the conditions for keeping housing become another punishment.

[Question] When I encountered the subject of recidivism I was convinced that the greatest troubles were in colonies for minors and in general-regime colonies. ITU employees themselves acknowledge that these two types of colonies have the most problems. Large-scale disorders, cases of arson—all these things usually happen there. Does that mean that the more rigid the regime—reinforced and specially strict—the less disorder there is? Is that true, and for what reason?



[Answer] First of all, the point is that the labor indoctrination (for minors) and general-regime colonies hold mainly young people. As a rule they are more impulsive, more easily subject to negative influences, and do not react properly to conflict situations. Unfortunately, young people (to the age of 25) constitute about 30 percent of the total numbers of persons who have been deprived of their freedom. We must admit honestly that we have not yet found adequately effective ways to work with this group of convicts. That is why we have the problems you mentioned.

We realize our problems and are not sitting by doing nothing. A scheme has been worked out to restructure the activity of the labor indoctrination colonies. It envisions creating a new model of the VTK [labor indoctrination colony] which presupposes a gradual transformation of the colonies into educational-indoctrinational institutions.

Of course, this is just the beginning of the large and difficult job of searching for original solutions. In working with this category of convicts we especially need help from society, Komsomol organizations, and veterans councils. After all, it is simply terrible that many childrens colonies are housed in dilapidated, unconverted buildings that used to be monasteries, churches, and even stables, and do not have normal physical facilities for indoctrination work. Moreover, these problems will not be solved through the efforts of MVD organs alone; we need a comprehensive approach here, unified action by criminal law organs, the community, labor collectives, and science.

[Question] After traveling to the colonies I learned that the employees of the ITU's themselves have problems. Being in direct contact with the criminal element they naturally experience pressure from them. In addition, the colonies are often located in areas where society is very limited. Whether you like it or not, the main element is criminals. It is possible here (and such cases are known, from "minor" instances such as bringing vodka or money into the prison zone, to more significant things like taking bribes from the criminals or their relatives) that the employees will grow into their environment and change from being an indoctrinator and guard. There are also questions of the cultural, and most importantly the professional, level of colony employees.

[Answer] You are absolutely right. Because of the specific features of their work colony and jail employees are subject to pressure from the criminal element in concentrated form for long periods of time. Let me say right out that not all of them prove morally and politically strong enough to withstand this. Sometimes professional deterioration occurs. For example, in the Kokchetav Investigative Prison in February of this year cases were revealed of illegally transmitting money, food, and drink to convicts. The guards responsible for this were discharged and the evidence was turned over to the procurator. Here is another case. Early this year the Baku

procuracy brought charges against Major Maksimov, deputy chief of a corrective labor colony, who had given corporal punishment to one of the convicts.

Concerning personnel. Unfortunately, we sometimes are sent employees who have discredited themselves at their previous job, are unable to carry on indoctrination work with the convicts, and who are cold and indifferent. The USSR MVD evaluates these cases according to principle.

[Question] Our colonies are called "corrective labor" colonies. Is such a name correct? There is no mention of executing the punishment assigned by the court; it is done, and of course this is the main part of the work of the ITU. But can we talk seriously of corrective work when the system is in many ways subordinate to the interests of the national economy, when reports are made on fulfillment of plans, and when the cubic meters of wood, thousand of jackets made, and millions of rubles incorporated at construction sites are so important? Aren't we unthinkingly following a policy where gaps in the national economy are simply patched up using the labor of hundreds of thousands of convicts? There is even the practice where, especially in regions that are difficult to develop such as the Far North and the Far East, colonies are established "for a certain construction job." First comes the construction plan, and then the "easy," "undemanding" labor force, convicts serving their sentences. Isn't this a distortion into labor and labor alone, even if it is done for correctional purposes? After all, having full-fledged citizens is just as important to society as building projects and receiving products. What do you think about this?

[Answer] Conscientious labor under ITU conditions is an important indicator of correction and reindoctrination. Labor there performs a double task: the indoctrination function and fulfillment of national economic plans. In addition to cubic meters, items, and rubles, there are labor indicators that define the attitude toward labor: fulfillment of the output norm and quality of output. We must keep in mind that convict labor is part of the country's balance of labor resources.

Labor placement of convicts is done mainly by organizing our own production facilities at ITU's and establishing direct cooperative links with enterprises of other ministries and departments. In addition, the contract method is widely used where convicts are taken to construction sites or production areas. About 15 percent of all able-bodied convicts participate in these types of work.

The USSR MVD offers labor to the economic organs of dozens of departments on an agent contract basis. A large part of this special contingent is engaged in construction at sites in Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia, in development of the petroleum and gas deposits in Astrakhan and Tyumen oblasts, building power plants in Kalinin, Smolensk, and Voronezh.



oblasts, and on other projects. These sites are everywhere, in the eastern and European parts of the Soviet Union, and in the north and the south.

I cannot agree with the statement that there has been a distortion between labor and corrective work. After all, socially useful labor and corrective work are inseparable concepts. Where convict labor is well organized indoctrination will be on the proper level.

[Question] The USSR MVD is one of the leading departments in terms of production volume. The colonies produce the most diverse kinds of output. And sometimes by very surprising methods. Let me give an example. One well-known Siberian plant a short time ago sharply increased the labor productivity of its workers with practically no significant investment. The director became a recognized production leader, received high awards (at that time they were given out easily), and finally was promoted. But when the matter was examined more carefully it turned out that the successes were based on the convict contracts. The plant was being served by several colonies. Is this a normal state of affairs? Can such production be considered ethical?

[Answer] The question is put very correctly. But let me stress the main thing: no ITU production activity done within the framework of existing labor law is a goal-in-itself for our institutions. We view it only as one of the effective means of social and labor rehabilitation. Our enterprises in fact do produce a broad assortment of output which finds application in all sectors of the national economy. The volume of production of output, both on state order and in collaboration with other ministries and departments, has enabled the USSR MVD to stand alongside the leading industrial ministries.

For the purpose of further improving and developing production collaboration and introducing new forms of organizing joint production it is envisioned that by 1990 the leading ministries of the country will renew the active part of the fixed capital of ITU enterprises that are engaged in producing output for their plants and associations. In addition, this document envisions transferring (under certain conditions) ITU production facilities to industrial enterprises (associations). But at present the managers are avoiding this "burden" and, as you observed, prefer to work in the old way and come out among the production leaders. Of course, you cannot call such an economy ethical.

[Question] My last question. We are familiar with the statement: you can determine the level of a society's development in large part by its attitude toward its own prisoners. Are there prospects for making the ITU system more humane? What concrete steps are being taken in this direction? Take, for example, what I consider to be the cruelty of limiting a convicts correspondence, or unnecessary...

[Answer] We need to hurry to humanize the process of corrective work and reindoctrination and the conditions in which convicts are kept, to review the regime and supervision, and to establish a solid succession in indoctrination work between the ITU and other MVD organs. The goal is the same, to achieve the final result of the corrective labor process. Following the resolution of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU corrective labor law will be reviewed. Among other things, legislative measures on making conditions of serving sentences as humane as possible are being prepared.

And this work has already begun. An experiment is underway to use set-offs of working days for convicts in corrective labor colonies. To give convicts material incentive for labor it is planned to decide the question of allowing them personal accounts to the full amount of the part of their earnings that comes from overfulfillment of output norms. We also plan to make a practical test of the idea of giving passes to convicts who take a conscientious attitude toward labor and do not violate the regime, and those convicts who live in corrective labor settlement colonies would have the right to travel to visit their relatives. The question you mention of restrictions on correspondence will also be reviewed.

11176

#### **Procurator on Environmental Legal Issues in Georgia**

18300387 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
ZAKONNOST in Russian No 6, Jun 88 pp 19-22

[Interview with V. Razmadze, GeSSR procurator, on the occasion of 5 June—World Environmental Protection Day, by O. Oleynik: "Natura Requires Protection"; date and place not specified; the first three paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST introduction]

[Text] The fact that our nature finds itself in a critical state is well known, perhaps, to all people. And in such a critical state that its trouble is already reflected in the conditions of life and, consequently, the health of people, and it threatens to turn into still greater misfortunes if urgent measures are not taken. The difficulty, unfortunately, consists precisely in the fact that the environment surrounding man was brought to such a state precisely by man, managing foolishly, polluting the land, the water and the air, chemically utilizing everything that can be taken from nature. Its restoration, where it is still possible, requires enormous organizational efforts, as well as material and energy expenditures.

Now the ecological problem in our country is regarded as one of the most important economic and socio-political tasks. To solve it, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decree "On the Radical Restructuring of the Business of the Protection of Nature in the Country." In the system of urgent

measures developed, the legal regulation aimed at the effective protection of objects and the rational use of natural resources found its place.

Of the organs of the procuracy, the new program for the protection of nature requires increased attention to the legality of the activity of nature users and the realization of nature-protecting legal measures. The procurators have already some work experience. We turned to V. Razmadze, procurator of the Georgian SSR, with a request to tell how this work is conducted in the republic, where the State Committee for Nature has been operating for more than a year, there are successes and mistakes have been uncovered.

[Answer] Yes, we can indeed talk about both mistakes and about successes. For examples, 11 years ago Tbilisi entered into the history of the international ecological movement. The first Inter-Governmental Conference on Education in the Sphere of the Environment took place in our city, the conference which adopted the Tbilisi Declaration," which laid the foundation for nature protection education. Many international ecological documents contain references to "the spirit of Tbilisi"... But in our republic things are not in such good shape. The pollution of the environment has reached such dimensions in the republic that the urgent necessity has arisen to take extraordinary measures for its improvement.

First of all, about that without which man cannot live—about air. Every year more than 1.5 million tons of harmful substances are emitted into the air basin of the republic by stationary or mobile sources, which significantly exceeds the maximum permissible norms. Stationary sources are industrial enterprises various sectors of the national economy. They account for 34 percent of the dust-forming and gaseous substances being emitted. Why is this happening? Basically because of the poor state of the protective systems. A part of them is inactive, in many enterprises they simply do not exist. We cannot but also the violation of the production method and the equipment operation rules. For example, at the Avchalskiy Plant for Silicate-Wall Materials, in the relevant shops, the aspiration system and the dust collection system do not operate because of a mistake in the design. Because of the physical wear of the production and dust collection equipment, the Tbilisi Asphalt Concrete Plant has transformed into a powerful source of dust emission, whose volume exceeds the maximum permissible norm by a factor of 23. The Tbilisi Machine Tool Plant imeni Kirov has 156 sources of harmful substances, of them 75 (48 percent) are not equipped with dust collection installations.

For these and other reasons, the atmosphere is polluted by many other enterprises in Tbilisi, Rustavi, Zestafoni, and Kaspi.

[Question] And what makes up the 66 percent?

[Answer] Mobile sources or motor transport. The reasons for air pollution by motor transport lie in the absence of careful control of the technical state of means of transportation in car and truck fleets. Automobile service stations also lack diagnostic control over the toxicity of the exhaust gases of light automobiles.

Moreover, the State Vehicle Inspection frequently conducts the technical examinations in a formalistic manner and does not check the good working condition of the engines. Not all subdivisions of the State Vehicle Inspection are equipped with gas analyzers and other necessary control and measurement instruments. And where they do have these instruments, they are frequently not used because of the insufficient qualifications of the workers, for example, in the Marneuli and Tkibuli city departments of internal affairs, the Gardabani Rayon Department of Internal Affairs.

[Question] Vakhtang Apollonovich, in Tbilisi, on the bank of the Kura, one can nevertheless see solitary fishermen who love to fish. They say that they catch fish only out of interest in the sport—no one risks eating them, since this is dangerous. Is the state of the water really that bad?

[Answer] At present the quality of the water, although it is far from what is required. Basically, the internal waters of Georgia continue to be polluted by industrial and agricultural enterprises. In many enterprises, water purification works have not been installed or are not operating. For example, in Tbilisi the Elektroavtomat Plant, the Production Association imeni 50-letiya SSSR, and several others do not have water purification works. For this reason, the dirty water used in production with admixtures of residual fuel oil, soda, other salts, various acids, and metals flows without purification and filtration into the rivers. The damage inflicted on the state comes to 20 million rubles.

The enterprises of the republic's State Agroindustrial Committee represent significant danger. In kolkhozes and sovkhozes the rules of the transportation, storage and application of mineral fertilizers and chemical weed-killers and pest-killers, which leads to wash-off, by rain and water from melted snow, of organic substances into water reservoirs. Animal husbandry complexes and poultry plants are also sources of the pollution of water basins. The reasons are the same: The absence or the non-functioning of purification works. Of 66 enterprises of the Gruzptitseprom [Georgian Poultry Industry] Administration, 20 do not have purification installations and 22 are inactive. Of 55 animal husbandry complexes of the republic, 34 do not have purification works.

As the result of such violations, the quality of drinking water does not meet the sanitary norms in a number of places. This already directly threatens the health of man, being the source of intestinal infections. On the Abkhassia shore of the Black Sea, the indicator of bacteriological water pollution exceeds the permissible level by a factor

of 7-24. Because of the disregard of legislative instructions and air pollution, the city of metallurgists, Rustavi, proved to be in one of the first places among cities with a high oncological illness rate of citizens.

[Question] The concern has been expressed in the pages of the republic press in regard to the fact that a rather large number of types of animals and plants have already been entered into the Red Book of Georgia. What is happening with the fauna and flora of the republic.

[Answer] The predatory attitude to the flora and fauna has led to the fact that in the forests of the republic 18 unique types of animals and birds have already been destroyed, and another 12 types are on the verge of disappearance. 151 designations of plants, including 61 tree types, have been entered into the Red Book; willow groves and other unique types of woods have been completely destroyed.

Consequently, there exists a serious threat to the animal and plant world. During the past 5 years, more than 10,000 cases of illegal hunting and tree-felling, violations of the rules of fish-catching, and damage to stands of wood have been recorded.

Some citizens place their egoistic goals above public interests, suggesting naively that natural resources are inexhaustible. Otherwise, how can one explain the attitude of a group of criminals from Sukhumi Rayon, who in the course of several years, in a forest of the first category of resort designation that also fulfilled soil, water, and wind protection function, cut down alder, acacia, and hornbeam trees? To the credit of the rayon procurator, A. Shamataev—he has secured the unmasking of guilty. Many have been sentenced, the damage has been compensated.

[Question] Vakhtang Apollonovich, excuse me, but you have sketched a rather gloomy picture. There even arises a feeling of hopelessness and the irreversibility of the consequences of the activity of man. What can the procurator do to help if only to preserve what has still remained of nature? The possibilities of the procuracy seem minimal.

[Answer] In the conditions of the disastrous state of the environment, the role of procuratorial supervision of observance of legislation on the protection of the environment undoubtedly must grow. You talk about small possibilities. But the point is precisely that many procurators have simply not paid sufficient attention to this sector of work. Every fifth urban and rayon procurator, including the cities of Marneuli and Zugdidi, Akhalakalskiy, Zestafonskiy, Tianetskiy, Bogdanovskiy, Abashskiy, and some other rayons for a long time have not planned and conducted checks on the observance of the legislation on nature protection.

The republic procuracy has received signals concerning the most flagrant violations of the legislation on nature protection on the part of enterprises, officials, and individual citizens. This is indicated by the analysis of even incomplete data of the court investigation practice and the results of the general supervision checks. We have also asked ourselves the question: What can be done? It turns out—a great deal, if we proceed from the comprehensive study of the state of the observance of legislation on environmental protection and the reasons for the violation of legality. For a beginning, we decided to intensify the work of the procurators in our jurisdiction and we sent them instructions with an appendix of a specially developed program and methodology for the organization of general supervision checks. We made use of a well-known model of the organization of procuratorial supervision, having given it broad publicity. At the beginning of the checks, information was published in all republic newspapers, which set forth their goals and tasks and which asked for cooperation in the exposure of violations of the legislation. The population was also informed through radio and television. For the collection of the information being received and efficient reaction, a special staff was created in the apparatus of the Procuracy.

Our appeal found a broad response. The staff received numerous reports, declarations, complaints, and other information about poaching, forest destruction, and pollution of water and air space. On the basis of such notifications, for example, we discovered sectors with sowings of plants containing narcotic substances.

On the basis of the results of the checks, more than 100 statements about violations of the legislation on nature protection have been published in the local press. The city and rayon newspapers have devoted whole pages to these problems.

[Question] But, evidently, the exposure of infringements of the law was not an end in itself?

[Answer] Of course. The analysis of the reports made it possible to determine the objects where the observance of legislation was unsatisfactory. Together with television journalists and with the participation of specialists, we went out into the provinces. Large national economic projects were encompassed by the check, and the majority of the notifications were confirmed. Solid material was collected with photo and film documents.

In fulfillment of the instruction of the republic Procuracy, many city and rayon procurators showed initiative, carried out well-thought-out checks, exposed flagrant violations, and applied all measures of reaction. One can name the procurator of Tsalendzhikhskiy Rayon, D. Sheliy, who succeeded in putting a stop to the pollution of the Inguri River with sewage and chemical weed killers and pest-killers. 130,000 rubles were recovered from the housing and public utilities department of the management of the construction of the Inguri GES

(Hydroelectric Power Station) for the damage done to the fish reserves. The procurator of Akhaltsikhskiy Rayon, B. Museliani, secured the effective investigation of the indictment of Okruashvili, Kurtanidze, Gelashvili, and others, who poisoned water with cyanogen float and destroyed an enormous number of fish, as well as caught about 700 kilograms of fish for themselves. The damage from their actions came to more than 20,000 rubles.

In Tbilisi the procurator of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon, G. Nadareyshvili, achieved the adoption of a special decision of the gorispolkom, in fulfillment of which the construction of a purification collector along the Vere River, and the purification works of other enterprises have been equipped. The procurator of the Avtozavodskiy Rayon of the city of Kutaisi, A. Bobokhidze, has taken concrete measures to put a stop the pollution of the Rioni, Gubistskali, and Ogaskura rivers, to the unauthorized seizure of land and the irrational use of water resources, and has intensified supervision of the legality of the assimilation of capital investments for the planting of trees and gardens of the rayon. He informed the party and soviet organs about formalism and inactivity of the rayon society and the ispolkom commission for the protection of nature.

The list of examples could be continued. I believe that this is a practical matter which the procurators must do. We have encouraged the officials named, we have disseminated their positive experience, having made it the property of all.

We are trying to support the orientation toward practical work by our own actions as well. The procuracy of the republic has put before the GeSSR Council of Ministers the question of the expediency of the further operation of the Tbilisi Asphalt-Concrete Plant and the Kutai Lithopone Plant, which, as a consequence of the violation of production processes, significantly exceeded the norms of emissions of polluting substances into the atmosphere.

The results of the analysis of the organizational checks and the processing of the collected information were discussed in December 1987 at the joint expanded session of the collegium of the GeSSR Procuracy and the republic State Committee for Nature. The executives of ministries, departments, and large industrial enterprises, as well as the chairmen of a number of city and rayon soviets were invited. Explanations were given by the minister of housing and municipal services, N. Nefedov, the first deputy minister of motor transport, I. Vepkhvadze, the chairman of the Rustavi City Soviet Ispolkom T. Dalakishvili, the chief of an administration of the State Automobile Inspection of the GeSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, G. Tsindadze, the director of the Batumi Oil Refinery Plant, A. Chinchaladze, the director of the Kutai Lithopone Plant, G. Kiriya, and others.

At the session of the collegium, the deputy ministers of the construction materials industry, construction, and the forestry industry, and the managers of more than 30 large enterprises, organizations and departments of the republic were warned about the inadmissibility of the violation of nature protection legislation.

At the same time, the collegium demanded of the procurators at the local level the radical restructuring of the organization of supervision of the legislation on nature protection and the improvement of the forms and methods of interaction with the soviet, trade union, controlling organs, and labor collectives.

[Question] In this connection, if possible, a few words about the changes in the practice of procuratorial supervision that have taken place recently?

But, above all, it is necessary to say that when we turned to the problems of environmental protection, we discovered that many norms of criminal law did not find their application. I have in mind the norms concerning the responsibility for the pollution of water reservoirs and the violation of the rules for the protection of fish stocks (Article 176 of the Criminal Code), illegal dumping or pollution of the sea with substances that are harmful for the health of people or the living resources of the sea (Arts. 176<sup>1</sup>, 176<sup>2</sup> of the Criminal Code), violation of the rules for the struggle against diseases and harmful plants (Art. 184 of the Criminal Code) and others. The activation of procuratorial supervision, naturally, has led to the fact that significantly more transgressors have had criminal proceedings instituted against them. And the point here is not to intensify repression and to place on it hopes for the strengthening of law and order, but the proper and sound application of the law.

Understanding the whole relativity of the quantitative indicators, I think that we must nevertheless mention the increase, in 1987, of the number of checks on the implementation of environmental protection by 47.4 percent and the increase of the total number of suits for compensation of damages inflicted by violations of nature protection legislation by 33.6 percent. There has been an increase of 64.5 percent in the application of all means of procuratorial reaction. The procurators have begun to study more deeply the reasons for, and the conditions of the violations of legality in this sphere, which has made it possible for them to improve the quality of procuratorial documents.

The study of ecological problems organized on the initiative of the GeSSR Procuracy has attracted the attention of the Georgian CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic.

[Question] Vakhtang Apollonovich, but will the work of the procuracy not be completed with big campaign, but campaign nevertheless? And where are the guarantees that the undertaking has moved from dead center?

[Answer] Having considered carefully the essence of the acute problem of the protection of nature, we have become convinced that the system of working by spurts is useless in its solution. What is needed is constant control and daily supervision. This is precisely the goal pursued by the joint plan of integrated measures for 1988 approved by the collegia of the Procuracy and the State Committee for Nature. We will achieve its strict realization.

We are controlling the implementation of the decision of the collegium in regard to this question so as to attain the actual elimination of violations. For example, the results of the checks carried out several months later have served us as the basis for the pronouncement of instructions to the GeSSR minister of the construction materials industry, N. Vashadze, concerning the necessity of securing the operation of the system of dust collection at the Avchalskiy Silicate Wall Materials Plant. In an instruction addressed to the GeSSR minister of construction, D. Mandzhgaladze, the adoption of immediate measures for putting into operation a new gas and dust collection system for the enterprises of the sector was required.

On the whole it can be noted that, although little time has passed, positive changes are already being marked. The emissions of harmful substances into the atmosphere from stationary sources of pollution have been reduced by 27,000 tons, and there has been an improvement in the indicators of the emission of harmful substances from mobile sources as well.

There has been an increase in the role and responsibility of ministries and departments. Questions of strengthening measures for the protection of nature have become a subject of special discussion in sessions of the collegia of the construction, construction materials industry, and Housing and Municipal Services ministries and the State Agroindustrial Committee of the republic. The Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services has allotted funds and established strict control over the timely introduction of water purification and water protection installations and sewer nets that are being built and rebuilt. The Ministry of Highways has restored the damaged collector at the Mtskhetskiy section of the Georgian Military Highway.

The Rustavi Azot Production Association has put into operation purification works, and the waste water flows into the Kura only after purification. On the Tbilisi water reservoir—the drinking water source of a number of regions—the operation of boats with internal combustion engines has been stopped. The republic Gruzptitseprom [Georgian Poultry Industry] Association has allotted additional funds for the reconstruction of the purification installations of a number of poultry plants located in the regions of the Black Sea Coast.

[Question] But, apparently, unresolved questions still remain, or those which require protracted measures?

[Answer] Yes, and among them there are two groups: The first is the economic group. Unfortunately, even in those cases where we are successful in securing the allotment of the requisite funds for nature protection measures, they are then often not assimilated. For example, in 1986, 42.5 percent of the funds allotted for anti-erosion measures were not put to work in this way. And this in the fact of the fact that the damage from soil erosion constitutes 10 million rubles. One often has to encounter cases of the unjustified delay of the construction of water protection works in the industrial centers and resort zones, and defects in the purification works, etc. are not always efficiently eliminated. In the struggle with these violations we are utilizing all means of reaction granted to us by law. I will only say that in the course of the check, the organs of the procuracy introduced 182 ideas, announced several dozen instructions, 225 warnings, and about 200 officials were subjected to disciplinary proceedings and held materially responsible. This is not a pursuit of quantity, but the aspiration to keep the state of legality in the sphere of environmental protection under constant and unremitting control, to attain concrete actions and the elimination of violations.

And, apparently, for this reason the procuracy of the republic continues to receive reports about the elimination of shortcomings and violations exposed in the process of checking. We always determine their reality.

The second group of questions that require constant attention has to do with the role of control organs and the local Soviets of People's deputies in nature protection work. Our materials gave reason to talk also about the fact that the republic State Committee for Protection of Nature, the Sanitary-Epidemiological Service of the GeSSR Ministry of Health, the republic administration of meteorology and control of the natural environment, the departments of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and others did not apply all necessary measures for the elimination of violations, were not interested in the reasons for them, and sometimes did not even react to serious infringements of the law. Also not felt was the coordinating role of the local Soviets, which should be the sovereign masters of the natural resources and be concerned about them. To overcome these shortcomings, along with measures for influencing people lacking in conscientiousness, we try to carry out organizational measures as well, which would raise the authority of actions in defense of nature, we conduct joint checks and discussions and we extend necessary assistance.

[Question] Well then, it remains for us to wish you success in this righteous and necessary cause.

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### USSR Procurator General on Legal Aspects of Environmental Issues

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[Interview of Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, USSR Procurator General, by Vladislav Starchevskiy, place and occasion not specified; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The ecological situation in the country was spoken of with great alarm at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. And not long before this conference these problems were discussed in Ulyanovsk, at the first all-Union seminar-meeting of employees of the USSR Procuracy on protection of the environment. Our correspondent talks with USSR Procurator General Aleskandr Yakovlevich Sukharev on the results of that seminar and about restructuring in the work of the procuracy to supervise compliance with environmental protection laws.

[Question] When we encounter violations of the law we usually shout, "Where is the procurator?!" That question could probably be repeated now too. But let us put it this way: what can procuracy organs do and what are they doing to normalize the ecological situation? And in passing, is it possible to impose order in this area by measures of procuracy supervision?

[Answer] In other words, you propose to have a talk about the role of the procuracy in this highly important matter? Well fine, I am for that. Especially because lawyers often run up against ecological problems. It is true that some economic managers say, "If you, the procurators, were given a free hand in environmental protection you would close down as many enterprises as the people have, and there would be nothing to wear." Generally they propose a kind of alternative: either-or. Of course, human peoples are intelligent enough to ultimately ensure harmony between nature and their own comfort. But when we are unable to preserve or maintain the balance of natural processes in whole regions of the country we cannot, or it is criminal if you like, to talk about this kind of alternative. It simply does not exist. The ecological disaster has reached enormous scale, and we must, it is essential, to choose the "lesser evil." And today that means extraordinary, urgent steps to save the environment we inhabit. We must firmly and determinedly put a stop to ecological plundering. Otherwise we will find ourselves in a situation where no economic and legal means will any longer be able to correct things. Therefore, in general such normal and logical concepts as "reasonable alternative," "moderation," and the like do not fit in working out a strategy to protect the environment. We are talking about the health and social comfort of the people, about the future of the country.

That is the position that the USSR Procuracy takes. Normalization of the environment is unquestionably a complex task. To accomplish it we need considerable

material, financial, and labor resources, a different level of legal regulation, and of course, a different kind of moral-psychological cooperation between society and nature. Large amounts have been invested in recent years for environmental protection and the return, unfortunately, has been small. Normalization of the ecological situation is going slowly, and in some regions it is even getting worse. For one, the discharge of untreated waste water has increased by almost five cubic kilometers, and as a result the water in many of our large rivers is becoming worse. More than one-third of the pulp and paper mills of the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, which is one of the main destroyers of nature, have no decontamination facilities at all. And in the Karelian ASSR, with its unique natural features, of 16 enterprises that were obliged to take water protection measures several years ago, only seven have begun. The tragic fate of the Aral Sea, killed by land reclamation engineers, is also well-known.

[Question] But after all, the Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and other ministries and various enterprises are not abstract concepts. They have real people who bear real responsibility for the state of environmental protection affairs. Shouldn't the procuracy give them "special attention"?

[Answer] You are absolutely right. We also begin from the idea that crisis situations most often arise out of mismanagement or irresponsibility. Behind almost every instance of destructive impacts on the natural world there are specific people, from ministers and academicians to workers. Therefore, we are now making more active use of the powers of the procuracy. In 1987 procurators brought almost 3,000 cases with a total value of about 4.5 million rubles against officials and citizens, to receive compensation for damage caused to the natural world. Criminal charges were also brought against those officials who were guilty of malicious violation of the law. But if we are objective, the common reproach, "What is the procurator doing?" with which you began our talk is fair in this instance. But something else is also obvious: procuracy supervision, no matter how serious and strict it is, is inadequate to impose order. We need the unified efforts of the state, its organs, and the local soviets, and involved, vigorous actions by the community. That is my answer to the question you posed.

[Question] You mentioned several of "our alarm points"—the dying Aral Sea, Karelia, which is suffering from contaminated runoff water. Unfortunately, it is easy to extend this list: the Baltic, Lake Ladoga, Baikal, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, the Caspian, the small rivers. But if we list the party and government decrees of recent years on environmental protection, we see that there is hardly any region in the country for which an important and specific decision (if not several) has not been adopted.

[Answer] The decisions have been adopted, but their execution, to put it mildly, leaves much to be desired. In fact they have not been carried out in full. Just for one let us take the decree entitled "Measures to Prevent Contamination of the Basins of the Black and Azov Seas." It spoke, among other things, of stopping the discharge of untreated water by 1986. And what happened? One-third of the enterprises, including such majors ones as the Metallurgical Plants imeni Dzerzhinskiy and Zaporozhstal, which discharge more than 300 million cubic meters of contaminated waste water into the Dnepr basin each year, have not met this demand. This has essentially nullified the expenditures of those enterprises which carried out the decree, and there has not been a serious improvement in the quality of Dnepr water. Despite decrees that have been adopted, a great deal of untreated waste water is discharged into the Caspian Sea and the basins of the Volga and Ural Rivers.

[Question] And how are procuracy organs responding to this?

[Answer] I will give the example of work by the procuracy of the Caspian basin. Last year their associates brought 909 persons to disciplinary, administrative, and material accountability, almost four times as many as in 1985, and brought suits for more than 500,000 rubles. Eight criminal cases of contaminating bodies of water have been sent to the court. And some economic managers have started to think it over and take steps. The discharge of contaminated water from ships into the Caspian has stopped, whereas just 3 years ago the damage from this was 600,000 rubles. But the procuracy for the Caspian still has a great deal of work to do. And this is true, you understand, in other places too. Therefore, we are telling procurators to prepare themselves for a long, difficult, and demanding job. We must move from reviewing particular, although sometimes very serious, economic situations to systems analysis of the situation in the region, city, republic, and country. And we must respond to violations that are identified in what we call an integrated way, making full use of our powers. This is especially true when we recall the inaction of the monitoring organs and the numerous inspectorates that are supposed to ensure protection of the environment.

What happened with the Aral Sea is not simply our common sorrow, but also an object lesson that when measures were not taken in time an ecological disaster occurred. And how can we sit idle, knowing that in 102 cities in our country with a population of some 50 million the concentrations of harmful substances in the air are often 10 times and more greater than the permissible norms? That is more than a warning; it is a cry to save the people!

[Question] The decrees we talked about are not the only thing that is not being followed. The laws that guard the environment are not followed either. What do you think is going on there?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we cannot call our environmental protection law perfect. We must use the law to set more rigid norms for any human intervention that endangers the environment. We need new legislative concepts. For example, the norms for discharges of various substances that were set earlier cannot be endured today by either nature or humans. We also need a system of steps to decontaminate and restore the environment. And expenditures for these purposes, obviously, should be covered by payments for the use of land, water, and air. At the same time there should be compensation for damage related to violations of the norms for use of natural resources. And it should ultimately be collected from the guilty officials and citizens.

There are many problems here. For example, there is practically no methodology for calculating the loss from air pollution. But without this how can we collect the loss from enterprises and organizations and then charge it to the guilty persons?

And if we talk about criminal accountability, we must be self-critical: procurators are extremely timid in using this effective measure.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] There are several reasons. There is the complexity of investigating such cases, the mass of unresolved questions related to expert examinations, the lack of necessary investigative know-how and methods, and a clear under-estimation of the danger of such actions. Last year the number of criminal cases sent to court in the country declined by one-third (by two-thirds in the Ukraine) even though the ecological danger did not diminish and the loss from thoughtless treatment of nature is growing. Not a single such case was sent to the court in Uzbekistan, Lithuania, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. About one-fourth of the cases that were begun were closed without grounds, while others have been under investigation for years. Let us recall the Priozersk Pulp and Paper Combine, which is polluting Lake Ladoga: several years passed between opening the criminal case and conviction of the guilty persons.

[Question] Well, when the case manages to reach the court all the same, are the judges tough?

[Answer] I would not say so. It is more the other way. The sentences they give indicate excessive leniency toward malicious offenders. These cases are seldom heard in traveling sessions, and the courts practically never use penalties such as loss of the right to hold positions directly connected with supporting environmental protection. Sometimes the amounts demanded of the defendants are reduced without grounds. But all these are also mistakes of procuracy supervision.



[Question] A criminal case and court are, as I understand it, extreme measures. What other weapons does the procuracy have in its arsenal?

[Answer] The procurator can protest an unlawful decision and submit a report that raises the question of eliminating violations of the law and bringing the guilty parties to responsibility, and he institutes disciplinary and administrative proceedings. He has the right to bring suit in the interests of an enterprise or organization. The procurator warns officials and citizens against violations of the law and if the warning does not help he can start a criminal case.

In those cases where the violation of the law is flagrant and can cause significant harm to the lawful interests and rights of an enterprise, institution, organization, or citizens, the procurator is given the right to issue an order for immediate cessation of the violation. Finally, he can stop execution of an unlawful decision of an ispolkom or a departmental order of a ministry.

As you see, the powers are substantial. They must be fully used, and we must look for new approaches. After all, if we reduce the work to nothing but penalties for officials and citizens, we are greatly simplifying our task.

[Question] The powers are quite numerous. But what measures are most effective? For example, what does an offender feel most, a fine that hits his pocketbook, or compensation of the loss at enterprise expense? Many believe that the former is more effective.

[Answer] I think that both measures should be used at once. Yes, an official pays the fine (which can be up to 100 rubles) out of his own earnings and feels it. But with the transition to full cost accounting the sum of the loss caused by the enterprise is paid out of its profit and affects the entire collective. That means that the workers will demand that their managers take effective environmental protection steps to avoid being punished a second time. But let me repeat again: we must introduce a realistic payment for the use of natural resources. According to calculations by scientists, the annual loss from irrational use of natural resources and contamination of the environment is several tens of billions of rubles. And only a small part is repaid.

[Question] Will they pay, and will they conserve?

[Answer] Exactly. Last year a payment for irrigation water was introduced in Kirgizia and Tajikistan as an experiment, and water use was cut by 50 percent. And that was without any loss in yield (in some places it was even better).

[Question] The idea of the "inexhaustibility" of natural resources existed peacefully for many years, and this led to the view that environmental protection is something secondary. I just want to note that quite a few economic managers shared this point of view.

[Answer] Yes, and many procurators were also prisoners of these old ideas. They operate by old methods and do nothing more than follow in the tracks of disasters that have already happened. But the meaning of their work should be to exclude the actual causes of damage to nature. Therefore I speak of integrated approaches that take account of the roots of the problem and rely on ecological forecasts.

The position and style of procuracy work has changed markedly in recent times. Supervision itself has become more competent, and accountability for compliance with environmental protection law has been raised. I have already cited several instances and figures. The USSR Procuracy together with the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the USSR Ministry of Fishing organized training for procurators in problems of ecology. Inter-rayon environmental protection procuracies have been set up (the direction of their work is already clear from the name), and we are developing closer contacts with state monitoring organs. Enlisting their specialists made it possible to significantly broaden the limits of procuracy inspections and go more deeply into the factors and conditions that have a lethal effect on the environment.

[Question] One would hope that you will receive strong support from the recently formed and long-awaited State Committee for Environmental Protection.

[Answer] I am sure of it. Without such cooperation it will be difficult for both the new State Committee and the procuracy to work. After all, the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Fundamental Restructuring of Environmental Protection Work in the Country" speaks not only of formation of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection; it also gives a program of actions for other state organs and public organizations. It is our program too. Cooperation between the procuracy and the State Committee for Environmental Protection can do a great deal, if only it does not follow the old bureaucratic path of examination, investigation, and reports "for appearance." We need solid practical actions, and in some cases our joint work should begin in the stage of the planning of large projects. That is where timely intervention can prevent great environmental losses.

It is very important that the development of "ecological" passports for enterprises not be dragged out. Then we will see how they are dealing with environmental protection law and it will be possible to monitor them regularly. And in general, with time all this work should go under the aegis of the local soviets.

What else is new in the working methods of the environmental protection procuracy?



With the help of specialists we checked on execution of the laws in several industrial sectors, from the ministry offices where orders are written and means are distributed to the enterprises where the orders are supposed to be carried out and the means put to use. We took sectors which have been "oppressing" the environment for a long time, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Union Ministries of Ferrous and Nonferrous Metallurgy. The results of the inspections were discussed at a session of the collegium of the USSR Procuracy, in the presence of the executives of these ministries. It was a tough conversation. Concrete measures were outlined to eliminate the violations, and responsible persons were named. Following our report these matters were also reviewed by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Here is another example. After a study of the ecological situation in a number of oblasts we decided to institute special monitoring of enterprises that are causing great harm to the environment and human health. The first results are promising: in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, Krivoy Rog, and Dneprodzerzhinsk the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere decreased by 30,000 tons a year while the discharge of untreated waste water dropped by 170 million cubic meters.

[Question] Is that a difficult matter for the procurator, "special monitoring"?

[Answer] I will give you one example, and you can judge for yourself. We are talking about Nizhniy Tagil where, as you know, an extremely tense ecological situation has developed. Each year the enterprises of the city are discharging up to 700,000 tons of harmful substances into the atmosphere, almost half a ton per inhabitant. The primary culprit is the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine. Taking that combine under special monitoring, Nizhniy Tagil procurator M. Otmakhov and his associates conducted several inspections at the combine, issued warnings, and a number of officials were punished. But nothing changed. Furthermore, after a powerful new coke battery was launched (its discharges are several times greater than projected) the situation in the city grew worse. The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the management of the combine refused to close two old batteries, as had been planned. The procuracy was firm; together with the sanitary-epidemiology station and the air pollution inspectorate procuracy employees stood watch constantly at the coke facility (the managers simply ran away from them) and themselves sealed up the furnaces. This lasted two weeks. They were able to seal up 11 furnaces out of 62. One battery has now been stopped, and another will stop operations on 1 October. The procuracy started a criminal case over the large discharges at the new battery, and its actions are being supported vigorously by inhabitants of the city, who have conducted ecology demonstrations. But departmental resistance continues to be enormous. As we know, V. Yarin, mill operator at the Nizhniy Tagil

Metallurgical Combine, spoke about this at the all-Union party conference. So you judge for yourself whether "special monitoring" is easy for the procuracy.

[Question] And how have the inter-rayon environmental protection procuracies done? After all, they have not existed for long and, obviously, do not have much experience.

[Answer] Many of them proved very militant and principled despite their young age. For example, in 2 years the Maritime environmental protection procuracy, together with territorial procuracies, stopped the unlawful acceptance for operation of a dairy combine, a refrigeration plant, an animal husbandry complex, and a chemical-pharmaceutical plant—in all, a total of 26 units which they were trying to turn over with operation decontamination facilities.

[Question] And each time there was a battle with the departments?

[Answer] Not just with them. For example, the authorities in the city of Nakhodka revealed an unquenchable desire to launch the meat combine with fanfare by the 70th anniversary of October, even if it did not have decontamination facilities. Despite the warnings given by the procuracy, they did everything they could to put pressure on the state acceptance commission. The procurators even had to fly by helicopter to attend the decisive meeting, where the local authorities were determined to achieve what they wanted (do I have to say that no one invited the procurators to this meeting; they found out about it at the last minute).

[Question] Were they successful?

[Answer] Yes, they were. Instead of a certificate of acceptance of the meat combine what resulted was a protocol of non-readiness of the unit. The meat combine went on line according to schedule, at the end of the year and with decontamination facilities. So the local authorities are sometimes willing to sacrifice the law and people's health for their own interests. You seldom get by without a fight. That makes the victories that much more important. Victories such as the ban on using the defoliant "butifos" on Uzbek fields or on aerial spraying of toxic chemicals in Latvia. In both cases the republic procuracies had to do a great deal of work and fighting. Our "foes," especially the departments, love to refer to the shortage of capital and labor, a poor material base, and poor equipment. Procurators have received clear instructions on this score: "Do not let the ministries lead you by the nose, get results."

[Question] Ecological problems today have become a kind of touchstone of our growing democracy. People have begun to discuss them loudly and to demand

concrete action. There have been demonstrations in defense of the environment in Irkutsk, Moscow, Kazan, the Ukraine, Estonia, and in other regions. What is your attitude about them?

[Answer] It is a normal democratic process, and we should be happy that people have stopped being passive, are recognizing the scale of the ecological disasters, and want to fight them. It is bad they they do not always have complete and objective information. Therefore, we need meetings with the community by soviet, environmental protection, and criminal law organs, scientists, and of course, economic managers. It is extremely necessary to respond quickly and effectively to public opinion, and not wave it off. And it is time to finally organize education in this area. We need a required minimum of ecological knowledge, and ecological literature should be published in large editions. We will not achieve much in environmental work without glasnost and the active support of the people. In Latvia now they organized a direct television relay of a session of the collegium of the republic procuracy which discussed ecological issues.

And people got all the information first hand, as they say. It would probably also be useful to broadcast trials in cases of violation of environmental protection laws over television.

[Question] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, many of the problems we have talked about were discussed at the all-Union meeting of procuracy workers in Ulyanovsk. It was the first such meeting. What comes next?

[Answer] Work. We got a fairly clear picture of how things are going in the local areas and exchanged opinions. We understood that we are very late in posing these questions and that we have made mistakes. Based on this we are formulating strategy and tactics that will be uniform for the procuracy. Remembering the mandate of the delegates to the 19th Party Conference, "Conserve nature, our common cradle and hope," we will not retreat. And I hope that after our talk the readers of NEDELYA will have a better idea of "what the procurator is doing."

11176

**Armenian Activists Interviewed on Visit with  
Estonian Popular Front**

*18300429a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 29 Jul 88 p 4*

[Article by P. Raydla, ETA: "Guests of the National Front from Armenia"]

[Text] Representatives of Armenia arrived in our republic on July 26 as guests of the Provisional Initiative Center of the Popular Front. They want to acquaint our public with their problems and tell about informal associations in the republic. A meeting was held on the very day of arrival with the leaders of the Popular Front. The famous poetess Silva Kaputikyan, Candidate of Technical Sciences Leo Gasparyan and the chief of the sociology department of Yerevan State University, Professor Lyudmila Arutyunyan, shared their thoughts.

The traditions of spiritual contacts between Armenia and Estonia were laid down at the beginning of the 19th century, when the world view of the creator of the new Armenian literature and literary language, Khachatur Adobyan, was formulated at Tartu University.

Frankly speaking, I went to the meeting with the intention of later discussing literature with Silva Kaputikyan. But after two hours passed quickly in the meeting, I understood the feelings and thoughts of all Armenians today about something else. Recent events in Sumgait and Nagorno-Karabakh and the recent session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet are still fresh in their minds. Armenia and Azerbaijan have for months not left the lips of the residents of Estonia either.

No one can remain indifferent when blood is spilled. But the fact that our evaluations have frequently remained superficial must also be acknowledged: how much do we really know of the history of Azerbaijan and Armenia? An appropriate feature in our press by a historian would obviously be of great value. This is not such a large demand in a period of democratization and glasnost. The role of Stalin in resolving the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh would then obviously be understandable. It would then be easier to interpret today's realities and understand that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet actually made the only possible decision. It seems to me, at least, that the press has a great debt to the readers in that regard. Even in Armenia itself, a kind of taboo was laid on the history of Nagorno-Karabakh, it could not be written about or studied. And only now has the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences been able to publish a detailed sketch on the history of Nagorno-Karabakh.

I would like to underline doubly the words of M.S. Gorbachev in his address to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia: "We are not in favor of digressing from a candid discussion of various ideas and proposals, but this must be done calmly, within the framework of the democratic process and legality, not tolerating the least detriment to the internationalist cohesion of our peoples. One cannot relegate the fate of

most serious issues of national fate to the power of spontaneity and emotion."

But one also cannot close one's eyes to the fact that there were and are serious shortcomings in the socio-economic life of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. How else to explain the very broad and exceedingly specific decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of March 24 of this year to accelerate the socio-economic development of Nagorno-Karabakh in 1988-95? The decrees on Nagorno-Karabakh by the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of both the Azerbaijan and the Armenian SSRs testify to the fact that the situation is abnormal.

But now we return to our guests. Leo Gasparyan noted that the upsurge in nationalist sentiments should be utilized and directed toward fulfilling the tasks of restructuring. A multitude of problems, after all, still faces the Armenian people aside from Nagorno-Karabakh. The nuclear power plant that has been built in a region of enhanced seismic activity, moreover located in the immediate proximity of the border and in a very densely populated region, is evoking alarm. Another problem is the rubber industry, which makes use of a great deal of liquid chlorine. True, the government of the republic has officially reported that the production of rubber has ceased, but some plants are continuing to operate in spite of this. A familiar situation to Estonia if one recalls the Estonfosforit Association and the Tallinn Pulp and Paper Combine. Armenia and Estonia thus have many problems in common. And the way out of them is also seen to be similar: stress enterprises in the laser, electronics, electrical-equipment, radio-equipment and light industries.

Lyudmila Arutyunyan spoke in detail on informal movements in Armenia. No Popular Front has as yet been organized there, but definite groupings have arisen. The two most important of them are one that unites the humanities intelligentsia and another that unites the scientific intelligentsia. But they have now begun to converge. After all, they have common goals. The youth and women also make up a separate wing. Questions of ecology have advanced to the fore there as in Estonia. And the first results of activity in this field are heartening.

Thus ended this meeting, while more lie ahead.

12821

**Armenian Internal Affairs Minister on New  
Regulations For Demonstrations**

*18300429b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
2 Aug 88 p 3*

[Armenpress report: "Public Order is Being Reinforced"]

[Text] A decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the procedure for organizing and holding meetings, assemblies, street processions and demonstrations in

*the USSR has been published along with an exposition of the decree of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted in accordance with it. Armenian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs U.S. Arutyunyan related the following to an Armenpress correspondent in commenting on this legislation:*

The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is really the first of its kind in our country. It arises out of our fundamental law—the Constitution of the USSR—which ensures political freedoms for Soviet citizens, including the freedom to meetings, assemblies, street processions and demonstrations.

In consolidating these provisions, the Constitution itself does not define the procedure for enjoying the use of these freedoms, this should be done by all-union and republic legislative organs. And insofar as the procedure for implementing these freedoms had not been made concrete through the present day, these functions have in places been held spontaneously. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, proceeding from the concrete situation and the requirements dictated by life, has adopted this document, which regulates in detail the question of holding meetings, assemblies, street processions and demonstrations.

This should be considered at the same time as a direct manifestation of party policy of renewing the laws employed here in our country as called for by the 19th Party Conference on the creation of a lawful state.

Without touching on all of the clauses of the decree that have already been published, I would nonetheless like to dwell on the following provision, contained in Clause 2, in which it is indicated that the application to hold a meeting, assembly, street procession or demonstration is submitted in written form no later than 10 days before the projected date for holding it and that the application should indicate the purpose, form, place of the function or route of movement, time for its beginning and ending, proposed number of participants, the last, first and middle names of authorized persons (organizers), the places of their residence and work (study) and the date the application is submitted. And the reason we need all of this is clearly stated in Clauses 4 and 8 of the decree, to wit: "In holding meetings, assemblies, street processions and demonstrations, authorized persons (organizers), as well as other participants, are obliged to observe Soviet laws and public order. The participants are forbidden to carry weapons, as well as specially prepared or adapted items capable of being used against the life and health of people or causing material harm to state or public organizations and citizens." Clause 8 also states that individuals violating the stipulated procedure for organizing and holding meetings, assemblies, street processions and demonstrations are liable in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the union republics. I think everything is clear: certain individuals should answer for possible disorders and anti-social phenomena, and not any random person who is simply an

eyewitness to, rather than a participant in, these events. We should therefore not see anything bad in the law's requirement to indicate the names, jobs or addresses of the organizers or authorized persons of assemblies and demonstrations. On the contrary, this is a guarantee against all sorts of misunderstandings. And we must always remember that any individual can answer for his own deeds or behavior. In short, individuals who violate the stipulated procedure bear responsibility in accordance with legislation. Does this indicate that changes have been made in this or that article of the legislation? Changes have naturally been made in the criminal and administrative codes. In order not to enumerate these articles in detail, I would note that the following sanctions are envisaged for violating the stipulated procedure for organizing and holding meetings, assemblies, street processions and demonstrations: a warning or a fine of up to 300 rubles, while in exceptional circumstances, if with a regard for the personality of the violator the application of the indicated measures is deemed insufficient, then he or they can be subject to administrative detention for no more than 15 days.

The same acts committed repeatedly over the course of a year by the same individuals toward whom the aforementioned measures have been employed will entail a fine of up to 1,000 rubles or corrective labor for a period of from 1 to 2 months with the deduction of 20 percent of the wages, or administrative detention for up to 15 days.

The legal question arises of whether these sanctions are applicable toward participants in assemblies, meetings and demonstrations. Is there a difference between organizers and participants?

The law has taken this into account. Sanctions have also been established for violations of the procedure by the organizers of these functions. Those organizers toward whom administrative measures have been applied without result, that is, for violations of the stipulated procedure, can be liable—they are punished by a fine of up to 2,000 rubles, corrective labor for up to 1 year or confinement for up to 6 months.

A statement of violations is composed by officials authorized to do so in an organ of internal affairs or a local soviet.

I would add that a violator of the procedure is taken into custody before the consideration of the case by a peoples' court. The cases of individuals subject to administrative liability are considered individually by a people's judge within three days. Upon determination of administrative action, the right is granted to compel those individuals who are not residents of the given locale to leave the city or region.

I would also say that such sanctions are employed in other countries as well. According to the criminal code in West Germany, for example, a violation of the procedure

for holding demonstrations is prosecuted under criminal procedure. Depending on the degree of violation of the law, the guilty parties are punished with a fine or imprisonment for up to 3 years. I would add that Article 130 of the criminal code, which has been revised since 1986 and contains stricter sanctions, can also be applied to the organizers of demonstrations.

The freedom of meeting, assembly, street procession and demonstration is also regulated by law in France. According to this law, functions that were not declared and approved in advance are considered a criminal act. The open or concealed carrying of weapons during permitted demonstrations and assemblies is also classed as a criminal act.

In England, according to the law on public safety, the organizers of demonstrations and street processions, if they do not follow the approved route, are considered violators of the law and are subject to large fines. The police moreover have the right, if in their opinion these assemblies or processions could violate public order, to disperse them regardless of the permission of the authorities to hold them, and they may employ sanctions stipulated by law against those that resist.

Analogous laws are also in effect in the United States. It must be kept in mind that each state has its own laws in addition to the federal ones. According to the criminal code of the state of New York, for example, criminal liability is stipulated for the assembly of people in groups in public places who do not submit to the demand of the police to disperse. And those who carry slogans and placards of a false nature are subject to being taken into custody for 10 days. There are also sanctions in effect that envisage the imposition of a fine on the order of 1,000 to 10,000 dollars.

Various punishments are employed in all of the socialist countries as well for violating the procedure for organizing and holding meetings, assemblies, street processions and demonstrations.

It must be stated overall that there cannot be permissiveness on this issue in any lawful country, since it affects the interests of almost all segments of society. The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet should be considered a natural phenomenon and an essential political and legal document.

Proceeding from this, any violation of procedure and the holding of forbidden assemblies and demonstrations, as well as any attempt to make use of mass functions for provocative purposes, will be halted decisively by the police.

I feel that it is especially essential to emphasize that for the purpose of averting mass or groups disorders, the new decree has envisaged additional rights right up to the use of special and protective means in order to ensure the safety of members of the police and servicemen in domestic service.

We are convinced, however, said U.S. Arutyunyan in conclusion, that our people, possessing great political maturity and good sense, will not force us to employ these rights that have been granted.

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### Work of 'Progressive' Armenian Groups in France Praised

18300372 Yerevan PO LENINSKOMU PUTI in  
Russian No 5, May 88 pp 84-89

[Article by N.A. Mkrtchyan\* under the "Letters to the Editor" rubric: "Strengthening Ties with the Motherland"]

[Text] One of the peculiar features of the modern epoch is the ascent of mass democratic movements throughout the world. In this regard, the CPSU Program notes that, "These movements are objectively directed against the policies of the reactionary circles of imperialism, and blend into the mainstream in the struggle for peace and social progress." There are two progressive organizations of Armenians living in France in this huge army of soldiers for peace and social progress—the Young People's Society (ZhAF) and the French Armenian Cultural Society (KSAF). Established in the postwar years, these societies have for over four decades taken an active part in the struggle of all progressive forces on the planet for peace and friendship among the nations.

ZhAF was founded in July of 1945, composed mainly of Armenians who had taken part in the Resistance. This very fact supported the prestige of the organization, rallying around it the progressive young people of the diaspora, developing the tradition of the Resistance, and attracting the peace-loving forces to the movement against the threat of a new war. In 1947 ZhAF became a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (VFDM) and since that time has been taking an active part in its congresses and peace-loving initiatives. Since 1979, ZhAF has taken part in the Peace Advocates Movement. Since 1951 the society has been publishing its monthly newspaper, NOTR VUA ("Our Voice"), in French.

The French Armenian Cultural Society was founded in 1949. Carrying on the cause begun by the Committee for Aid to Armenia and the Armenian National Front, the society declared its program as strengthening friendship and cultural ties between the nations. The ideals and the activity of the cultural society are reflected on the pages of the newspaper ASHKHAR ("Peace").

These two progressive organizations of Armenians in France have been mobilized to serve a common goal: their cultural activities are directed toward strengthening ties with the Motherland.

For the Armenian diaspora in France, as in general for all the progressive forces in the Spyurk [Armenians living in exile], Soviet Armenia with its unprecedented spurt of social development and the successes it has achieved is the reality which unites them. It is the vocation of the progressive organizations in the Armenian community in France to serve the expansion and strengthening of Spyurk's ties with Soviet Armenia, and to support in every way the nurturing of love for the Motherland among Armenians in France.

The position taken by KSAF and ZhAF with respect to Armenia is not only the result of patriotic sensitivities and nostalgic feelings; it is also the recognition that the social and political system of the Armenian SSR is a reliable guarantee of economic, scientific and cultural development for the Motherland. All of the many, many measures which these societies are carrying out together or in cooperation with other progressive organizations, have done a great deal to promote the spread of patriotic ideals and to enlist Armenians of the Spyurk for active participation in educating the younger generation in the spirit of love and respect for socialist Armenia.

The political characteristics of the various parties and societies which exist in the community and their periodical publications are conditioned by their attitudes toward Soviet Armenia. A positive or negative orientation with respect to Soviet Armenia is determined by the criteria according to which the various Armenian national organizations have banded together. KSAF and ZhAF are societies which have dedicated all their activities to strengthening the ties of the broad sectors of the Armenian population of France with Soviet Armenia. Their struggle, just as that of many other progressive forces of the Spyurk, is helping Armenians living in foreign lands to learn of the successes of Soviet Armenia and to rejoice in its achievements.

Annual celebrations dedicated to the establishment of Soviet Rule in Armenia, which are solemnly marked in Pleyelle Hall in Paris, are major patriotic measures. This tradition, which was begun in the 1920's, continues to this day. The celebration of the establishment of Soviet Rule in Armenia is a weighty measure: taking part in it are nearly 3,000 representatives of the public, political figures and cultural figures from the Spyurk, and high officials from various countries. The principal organizers of these celebrations in France are ZhAF and KSAF, which for many years have been the initiators of this enterprise, in which at the present time 14 organizations are taking part, united in the Organization Committee for Celebrating the Anniversary of Soviet Armenia (See "Kulturnyy soyuz armyan Frantsii: 30 let sluzheniya frantsuzsko-armyanskoy obshchine," [The Armenian Cultural Society of France: 30 Years of Serving the Franco-Armenian Community], Paris, 1980, p 48; and, "TsGAORSS [Central State Archives of the October Revolution] of the Armenian SSR," f. 875, op. 5, d. 12, l. 2).

Speaking before the solemn gathering are progressive figures in the community, writers arriving from Armenia, cultural figures, and officials from France and other countries. The celebrations dedicated to Soviet Armenia are also solemnly marked in the suburbs of Paris (Aubervilliers, Gentilly, Issy-Les-Moulineaux, Bobigny) and Lyon, St. Denis, Valence, Marseille, and other cities where many Armenians live.

In one of the letters from the organizational group for celebration of the 40th Anniversary of Soviet Armenia, we read: "Under the conditions of peace the people of our Motherland have received the opportunity to give free rein to their genius and their culture. The unprecedented ascent of culture is one of the most significant indicators of the convergence of the people and is the principal condition for friendship among them. Through its unprecedented elevation of culture the Motherland has extended connecting threads to the many thousands of Armenians of the Spyurk and has become a brilliant beacon for our widely-scattered people." (TsGAORSS Arm. SSR, f. 709, op. 3, d. 269, l. 6).

Tourist trips organized by ZhAF and KSAF since 1955 have provided Armenians of the Spyurk broad opportunities for direct contact with the reality of Armenia. The Armenian cultural and public figures who have visited our republic have always addressed the Motherland which gave them birth in the very warmest terms and have always shared their unforgettable impressions with the readers in the Spyurk. Franco-Armenian literary critic Yenovk Armen, in his article, "Reminiscences of Armenia," wrote that in only 40 years Armenia has experienced exceptional rebirth and flourishing of all spheres of human activity; for such an unprecedented ascent there must have been exceptionally friendly relationships and the political levers to make such a thing possible; all eye-witnesses without exception, unconditionally and unanimously cry out: "A miracle!" (ASHKHAR, 1961, No 63, 15 July, p 1).

The newspaper ASHKHAR has paid respectful tribute to the leader of the Great October Revolution. It has published a great many articles in honor of the centennial celebration of V.I. Lenin's birth. In one of them it was stated, that "Lenin was a genius in the truest meaning of the word. And he put his genius to the service of a great cause—the liberation of the oppressed, the exploited, the enslaved people. For millions of people Lenin is the great statesman and politician who, in spite of a multitude of difficulties, laid the foundation for the first workers' regime... Having studied Marx and Engels, the theoreticians and philosophers of advanced human ideals and the bearers of the progressive ideals of humanity; proceeding from the humanistic principles of the Paris Commune—he weighed and interpreted them, and prepared the way for the Great October Revolution." (Ibid., 1970, No 597, 7 February, p 1).

In spite of its mixed character and lack of homogeneity, a major share of the Franco-Armenian community is on the side of Soviet Armenia. However, in addition to the

progressive forces, there are other forces in the community which are fighting against Soviet Armenia, and the chief of them is Dashnaksutyun. All activities of the progressive forces in the Franco-Armenian community are directed toward establishing and firming ties with socialist Armenia, and are solidly united in the struggle against currents with a hostile orientation toward Soviet Armenia.

The pivotal point of the political behavior of the Dashnak Party is anti-Sovietism. At the present time the Dashnak Party is attempting to expand its sphere of influence. Falsification of reality in the USSR and in Soviet Armenia, ceaseless attacks on the Soviet system in the pages of the Dashnak press, attempts to disrupt the national-religious unity of the community—all of these are important parts of the activity of the progressive forces in the Armenian diaspora in the struggle with Dashnak ideology. The progressive Armenian organizations in France—ZhAF and KSAF, have nothing in common with the ideology of the Dashnak Party. This orientation has its roots in history; you see these two societies are carrying on the tradition of the progressive organizations of French Armenians, which contains brilliant pages in the struggle with the Dashnaksutyuns. In one of its April issues, the monthly organ of ZhAF, analyzing in retrospect the history of the Armenian people since 1915 and up to our day, writes that the Armenian people, which have passed through the horrors of genocide, have taken the path toward building a new society, along with the other fraternal nations of the Soviet Union. During the years of the Second World War the Armenian people, together with the other Soviet peoples, took part in the historic mission of the Soviet Union—to liberate the planet from Fascism. At present, Soviet Armenia, one of the coequal republics of the USSR, is actively engaged in the struggle for peace between the nations, and for their peaceful coexistence. The newspaper stresses the glorious journey undertaken by Soviet Armenia, contrasting its own point of view with the position of the Dashnaks. NOTR VUA writes: "It is painful to watch these reactionary forces pine because of the destruction of the Nazis, and they do not miss any opportunity to make their contribution to the poisonous atmosphere of a cold or even a hot war, aiding and abetting such crusades" (NOTR VUA, 1961, No 72, April, p 1). NOTR VUA has denounced the assertion of the Dashnak young people's newspapers ARMENIA (Buenos Aires) and AYASTAN (Paris), directed against the current order in Soviet Armenia, which repeat over and over that the national independence of the Armenians is threatened on the one hand by the neighboring Turks, and on the other by "Soviet imperialism."

Concerning the question of the national unity of the diaspora, the newspaper ASHKHAR justly defends the point of view that the overwhelming majority of the Armenian socio-political formations in France have taken a position for defending the Motherland. Both the Ramkavars and the Gnchakists, in spite of the differences in their ideological-political platforms, "are positively oriented toward a state in the Motherland." (See

ASHKHAR, 1973, No 789, 2 February, p 1). Actually, the Dashnaksutyun is the only force in the Franco-Armenian diaspora that opposes the other party and organizations in their activities for rallying the Armenians around their socialist Motherland, and has no allies among the other socio-political forces. Denouncing the Dashnaksutyun in one of its articles, ASHKHAR characterizes the position and the significance of the activities of this party in the Spyurk as follows: "Communists, Ramkavars and Gnchakists stand today with unshakable and unswerving faith on the side of the Mother Country; whereas the 'national' Armenian revolutionary party 'Dashnaksutyun' from the great to the small, both its older and its younger generations, have taken up a position alongside the international reactionaries...in opposition to the bright beacon of our existence—Soviet Armenia" (Ibid., 1974, No 879, 28 December, p 1).

Progressive Franco-Armenian organizations are consistently waging their struggle with the Dashnak Party to this very day, exposing their unceasing slanderous assaults on the USSR and the Armenian SSR.

In exposing the anti-Soviet article in the Dashnak newspaper AYRENIK (Boston) on discussion in the American Congress of the resolution, "On Declaring 24 April a Day of Remembrance," ASHKHAR stresses that Dashnaksutyun, "which is obliged to pour out its anti-Soviet, antipatriotic gall, does not take the historic facts and realities into consideration and does not wish to acknowledge the truth of the fact that Armenia is a part of a multinational state, the USSR, and that the state interests of America have never coincided with the interests of Armenia for the simple reason that Turkey is a member state of the aggressive bloc of NATO, just as it is also a close ally of the USA" (Ibid., 1985, No 1390, 26 October, p 1). In a lengthy article entitled "R. Dashnaksutyun," the newspaper ASHKHAR analyzes the entire journey taken by this party, exposing its ties and cooperation with anti-Soviet groupings and with terrorist activities, its role in the schism of the church, and other facts. Citing the materials of the 22nd Congress of the Dashnak Party, published in the newspaper AZDAK on 5 December 1982 and in March of 1983, the weekly stresses that the activity of the party is the same as before, and that the party "is feeding on the very same illusions" (Ibid, 1988, No 1370, 4 May, p 1). ASHKHAR singles out the direction of the strategic program of the Dashnak Party in order to illustrate its impracticality and its illusory nature. Speaking of the Dashnaks' plans to create a "free and independent" Armenia by means of a Soviet-American war, ASHKHAR stresses the clear idea that in the event of such an armed clash, Armenia itself would be destroyed. The establishment of a new regime would become simply unthinkable (and if Armenia is separated, then it will return to the very same situation in which it existed in accordance with the Aleksandropol Agreement of 1920).

In its lead article, emphasized by the title question, "Is Peace a Source of Unhappiness?" the newspaper ASHKHAR holds up to principled criticism the political shortsightedness of the Dashnak press speaking out against halting the arms race and relaxation of international tensions, and predicting "misfortune" for mankind, purportedly flowing from the meeting at Reykjavik. At the very time when the nations of the world are placing great hopes in Soviet-American summit meetings, the Dashnak "politicians" are continuing to wage their "70 years of anti-Armenian activity" (ASHKHAR, 1986, NO 2435, 11 October, p 1).

Turning to the ties between the Motherland and the Spyurk, the 28th Congress of the Armenian CP emphasized: "Bringing to it (the Armenian diaspora abroad—ed.) the truth about Soviet Armenia and its historic gains, its genuine flourishing in the united family of Soviet peoples, the truth about the goals of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, about the achievements of our socialist society, of the national policy of the Communist Party; skillfully exposing in a timely manner and giving a decisive rebuff to the hostile falsifications and ravings of the Dashnaks, and all reactionary and conservative forces—is an important political task."

The indefatigable struggle of the progressive organizations and the progressive press of the Franco-Armenian diaspora against the subversive policy of the Dashnak Party is an integral part of the patriotic activity of the French community, which is directed toward a proper orientation for Armenians of the Spyurk: "Cast your eyes on the Mother Country, and firmly cement your ties with her." In the message from the organizational committee responsible for organizing the festivities on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Soviet Armenia, sent to the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which expresses the feelings of pride of the French Armenians for their Soviet Motherland, it states: "The Armenians of France who remained alive after the first genocide of the 20th Century are proud of their Motherland, which has made a direct contribution to the cause of peace. They are proud of the fact that owing to this peace, the people of Soviet Armenia have achieved material and spiritual flowering unprecedented in its history" (TsGAORSS Armenian SSR, f. 875, op. 5, d. 62, l. 7).

Soviet Armenia is cooperating in every way with the progressive Franco-Armenian organizations. It has become traditional for members of ZhAF and KSAF to make regular visits to the Motherland; after all, here they receive spiritual sustenance for continuing their patriotic activities, and here is where they draw their strength for preserving their national identity. The periodical press of Armenia has published materials on the progressive activity of these organizations. In 1976 a combined delegation from KSAF and ZhAF visited Armenia, the members of which included the editor of the newspaper ASHKHAR and deputy chairman of the board of KSAF, Av. Alisnanyan; Deputy Chairman S. Tatikyan; General

Secretary of the Board G. Saryan; and Secretary of the Board of ZhAF, M. Pekhlivanyan. The newspaper AYRENIKI DZAYN wrote concerning the visit: "These progressive societies, which are the most authoritative and influential organizations of the Franco-Armenian community, have for more than three decades carried out a great deal of patriotic work on rallying and uniting the Armenians of the diaspora and particularly the young people around the Motherland—Soviet Armenia; they have acquainted the French Armenians as well as the local public with the many centuries of Armenian culture and the progress of their Motherland, and have strengthened the friendship between the Armenian and French people" (AYRENIKI DZAYN, 1976, No 20, 12 May, p 5). Perch Maslakyian, presenting the multifaceted activity of the organization on the pages of the magazine GARUN, cited the importance of mutual visits, "since they promote strengthening friendly relations between the French and the Armenians and create more favorable conditions for our work. The visits by our delegations in turn create an opportunity for our young people to gain first-hand acquaintance with their Motherland, and to make their impressions of it more concrete" (GARUN, 1971, No 10, p 57).

The domestic press reflects on its pages the activity of the progressive Franco-Armenian organizations and its press organs, and always gives them high marks for their patriotic work. On the occasion of the publishing of the one-thousandth issue of ASHKHAR, the newspaper AYRENIKI DZAYN wrote: "Truly, the one thousand issues of ASHKHARA have been like a breath of air from the Motherland, and like the sound of a bell, ringing out the glory and the achievements of Soviet Armenia." The materials published on the pages of ASHKHARA from representatives of the Spyurk intelligentsia who have visited the Motherland; articles and publications telling about the Armenian artists, writers and scientists arriving in France from the Motherland; about the artists' tours and concerts; and about the exhibits and public speeches, have inspired the French Armenians with the achievements of their reborn Motherland, have elevated their patriotic spirits, and have strengthened the ties between the Motherland and the Spyurk" (AYRENIKI DZAYN, 1979, No 25, 22 June, p 4).

On the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Franco-Armenian Cultural Society, the newspaper AYRENIKI DZAYN, evaluating the service rendered by the organization, noted: "One must not forget that the great work which the society carries out is accomplished on a voluntary basis only, with the help of the members of the society, their material means, and their selfless devotion; all of which proceeds solely from the basic goal of the society: to unite and rally Franco-Armenians around their Mother Country—Soviet Armenia; to struggle for strengthening peace and cooperation among the nations, and friendship between the French and Soviet people" (Ibid., 1979, No 50, 12 December, p 4).



On 24-26 November 1980, a congress of representatives of the Spyurk community was convened in Yerevan under the slogan, "The Struggle for Peace and Progress." ZhAF General Secretary Edmon Yankyan and ASHKHAR Editor Avetis Aliksanyan were also invited to the congress. Speaking at the congress and stressing the importance of the meaning of peace, Aliksanyan declared that, "Without peace there is no progress. Only through the security provided by peace is there any guarantee of further flourishing of our beloved Motherland, an unlimited flourishing. And it was the Soviet Union which has given us this peace. That means that we, who have gathered in Yerevan from different countries as representatives of the Spyurk, must stand firmly with all peace-loving and progressive forces" ("The Renaissance of the Motherland and the Spyurk," 1982, pp 165-166).

The patriotic and peace-loving activity of Franco-Armenian progressive forces have earned high praise from prominent cultural, social and political figures in France. In a letter from the organizational committee to the Soviet government on the occasion of the celebration of the 56th Anniversary of Soviet Armenia, which was signed by the representatives of the festive gathering, and by Paris Deputy Louis Bayot, it is stated: "Franco-Armenians who love and are devoted to their Motherland desire, and together with the French people are devoting every effort to affirm, the highest ideal of mankind—strengthening the peace on the entire planet... Franco-Armenians render thanks to the Soviet people for their decisive contribution to the historical achievements now taking place in the world. They are especially happy to acknowledge that the Armenian people have also made their full contribution to this cause" (TsGAORSS Armenian SSR, f. 875, op. 8, d. 9, l. 3-4). A letter was sent to the Soviet Government by the committee sponsoring the celebration of the 60th Anniversary of Soviet Armenia (The committee membership included many prominent figures, including Napoleon Byulukyan, a prominent businessman; Jean Garzoux, the well-known artist; French Ambassador Maurice Desgan; Guy Du Cologne, a member of the French CP; Arman Lanoux, a member of the Goncourt Academy; Jean-Pierre Mae, a specialist on Armenia; world-famous writer William Saroyan, and others). Signed by Roland Le Roy, member of the politburo of the French CP, political director of the newspaper L'HUMANITE, member of the France-USSR Presidential Society, and chairman of the festive gathering celebrating the 60th Anniversary of Soviet Armenia, the letter stated: "Armenians living in France have traced with great joy the great journey which their brothers in Armenia have traveled in the family of the fraternal nations of the Soviet Union.

"As they celebrate the 60th Anniversary of their national renaissance, the Armenians of France are convinced that the interests of their Motherland—France—and the interests of Armenia are closely tied with the development of trade, cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union.

"Only under such conditions can peace be strengthened, for the good of all people.

"It is in this very sense that Franco-Armenian friendship, as an indissoluble part of Franco-Soviet friendship, finds and will continue to find its highest form of vital activity" (TsGAI Armenian SSR, f. 420, op. 26, d. 4, l. 13-14). It is noted in the document that at the very time the Americans were deploying their nuclear missiles in Western Europe, when the policy of disarmament was threatened by this danger, French Armenians were standing side by side with the French people, and were actively participating in the struggle for disarmament (Ibid.).

In February 1986, responding to the questions of M. Le Roy and other responsible officials from L'HUMANITE, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev spoke of Soviet-French relations as follows: "The Soviet Union stands for broad cooperation with France, and for friendship between the Soviet and French people. The differences between the USSR and France are hardly an obstacle for their agreement and cooperation. This is our firm, long-term and principled position. We believe that improving mutual relations and establishing cooperation between the USSR and France are important for the fundamental interests of our countries—strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the world, and improving the international situation" (PRAVDA, 1986, No 39, 8 February).

The cultural, social and political activity of the progressive Armenian organizations of France can be looked upon as part of a unified process in the struggle for peace and democracy, which is led by the French Communist Party.

The activity of these organizations was given meritorious recognition by the Soviet Government. In 1980, at the Soviet Embassy in France, Avetik Aliksanyan, editor of the newspaper ASHKHAR and deputy chairman of the Franco-Armenian Cultural Society [KSAF], in accordance with a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was presented the Order of Friendship of Nations for his energetic activity for strengthening friendly ties between the USSR and France. Attending the presentation ceremony were world-renowned writer William Saroyan, celebrated artist Zh. Garzu, poet R. Rozhdestvenskiy, member of the board of the France-USSR Society Raymond Marquis, representatives of the Franco-Armenian organizations of ZhAF and the Society of War Veterans (ASHKHAR, 1980, No 1178, 19 June, p 1). In 1980 the same award was bestowed upon prominent KSAF figure Agasi Darbinyan for his work on strengthening the friendship of nations (Ibid., 1982, No 1230, 15 May, p 1).

The Franco-Armenian Cultural Society was awarded the Certificate of Honor of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet for developing cultural ties between France and the Armenian SSR and for strengthening Franco-Soviet

friendship. ZhAF and KSAF are indefatigably putting into practice the ideals of strengthening peace throughout the world, friendship between the nations, and development of cultural ties.

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**Azeri Official Answers Questions on Armenian Supreme Soviet NKAO Decision**

18300396a Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 2

[Article, under rubric "Reprint": "Despite the Constitution: Answer to Our Readers' Questions About the Decision Adopted by a Session of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] [Editor's note] A very large number of readers who are confused about the well-known decision adopted by the ArSSR Supreme Soviet have been contacting the editorial office. Yesterday's issue of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY contained an exhaustive article on this subject, which we are reprinting below. Yesterday's session of the AzSSR Supreme Court (our newspaper's production schedule does not allow us to print the material from that session in this issue) put the dots on all the i's.

[Reprint introduction] The central press has published a report about a session of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet that considered the question "Decision Adopted by an Extraordinary Session of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of Azerbaijan SSR, Dated 20 February 1988, Entitled 'An Official Request to the AzSSR and ArSSR Supreme Soviets to Transfer NKAO From Azerbaijan SSR to Armenian SSR.'" The session in Yerevan, as became known, decreed that consent should be given to including Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast in Armenian SSR, and the republic's Supreme Soviet requested USSR Supreme Soviet to consider this question.

The editorial office of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY has been contacted in this regard by a number of readers who expressed their confusion and who requested that we provide the necessary explanations. A BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent met with Abdulla Garzhibaba ogly Ibragimov, head of the Legal Department of AzSSR Supreme Soviet. We are publishing below the conversation with him.

It is not difficult for your readers to understand. This decision, by such a representative agency as a session of the Supreme Soviet of a union republic, is completely

unprecedented in the history of our Soviet state. The decree was adopted despite our country's Basic Law—the USSR Constitution—and is completely without foundation, either legal or practical. Putting it briefly, it is incapable of changing to even the slightest degree the national-state structure of Azerbaijan SSR or of influencing the status of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

I might recall that two days earlier there had been a session of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet, which discussed the official request by deputies of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies to transfer the oblast from Azerbaijan SSR to Armenian SSR. After completely considering the request, the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet considered it to be unacceptable, inasmuch as its implementation would contradict the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian population of the republic and would not correspond to the tasks of strengthening the friendship among all the nations in the Soviet Union or the tasks of perestroika.

The attentive reader, of course, noted a circumstance of no small importance: the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet considered the message from the deputies to NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies, but the session of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet considered the decision of the extraordinary session of the oblast NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies. The difference here is a substantial and fundamental one. First of all must be emphasized that the so-called session in Stepanakert that was held on 20 February 1988 was groundless by virtue of the crude violation of the Law of Azerbaijan SSR Governing Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. That law states, in particular, that "The time for convoking a session and the place for conducting a session of the oblast Soviet, as well as the questions to be introduced for consideration by the Soviet, will be communicated by the executive committee of the oblast Soviet to the deputies and made known to the population no later than two weeks prior to the session." That paragraph was not observed, since the session considered on an urgent basis a question that had been raised the day before the convoking of the session, without any prior notification. Moreover, the deputies who represent definite parts of the oblast were not informed at all about the convoking of the session and were not even present at it!

Furthermore, Chapter 14 of the USSR Constitution states, "In his activities the deputy is guided by nationwide interests..." Precisely that view, unfortunately, was lacking among the deputies to NKAO, who were enslaved by their emotions and who supported the strictly local interests which they misunderstood, in opposition to the nationwide, countrywide interests. It was as though the deputies had forgotten that we live in a multinational country and are linked by the commonality of interests and by fraternal aspirations.

I shall state once again that the decision adopted on 15 June 1988 by the session of ArSSR Supreme Soviet is illegal and is incapable of shaking the national-state

structure that has developed and that has been tested by life and by the decades that have passed. Chapter 9 of the USSR Constitution states in Article 78: "The territory of a union republic cannot be changed without that republic's consent." The Presidium of our republic's Supreme Soviet did not give that consent. Moreover, our country's Constitution firmly and unambiguously states that the most important questions of state life must be brought up for nationwide discussion, and also submitted for nationwide vote (referendum).

We all know that the 21 February 1988 resolution of the Politburo of CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that the actions and demands that were aimed at reconsidering the national-territorial structure in our region contradict the interests of the workers of Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR and inflict harm on interethnic relations. In order to resolve the problems that had come to a critical point concerning NKAO, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree that became a good basis for the dynamic socio-economic development of that part of Azerbaijan. A rather large volume of projects have already been executed to carry out that decree, and their rates of progress, as was mentioned at the recent rally of Baku workers that was held under the slogan "Perestroyka, Democratization, and Internationalism!" are supposed to grow even more, and they will indeed do so.

I would like to remark once again that the workers and the population of our multinational republic do not have any reasons for concern with regard to the decree that was adopted in a neighboring republic, and in absolutely no instance should anyone of us prove to be at the mercy of highly nervous emotions, or give in to idle rumors or persuasions. The point of view of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is also widely known. On 23 March 1988, in response to a message sent by a number of the country's union republics, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a special decree concerning the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and in Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR. I would like to quote the following lines from that decree: "It is recognized to be inadmissible when the attempt is made to resolve complicated national-territorial questions by means of exerting pressure upon agencies of state authority, in an atmosphere of heightened emotions and passions, the creation of all kinds of self-appointed formations that are in favor of cutting up and reforming the national-state and national-administrative boundaries that have been firmly established in the USSR Constitution, which can lead to unpredictable consequences."

At the 13 June rally of Baku workers, where the representatives of the labor collectives of the city's industrial enterprises, institutions, and educational institutions gathered, there was a clear-cut expression of the general opinion of all the participants concerning the need for the most rapid return of the life of Nagorno-Karabakh

Autonomous Oblast to its normal course and the need everywhere to demonstrate restraint and calm and to be true to proletarian internationalism.

5075

#### Readers' Comments on NKAO Events

18300397a Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAIJZHANA  
in Russian 28 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by MOLODEZH AZERBAIJZHANA Department of Letters, Sports, and Information, under rubric "What's In the Envelopes": "Our Ancestral Home"; first paragraph is introductory]

[Text] Between 18 and 24 June we received 52 letters. Out of this number, 25 were readers' responses to events in the social-political life of our republic, and newspaper articles such as "We Must Not Rest Easy" (M. A., 11 June) and "Will We Save the Khudaferskiy Bridge?" (M. A., 12 May). Four were responses to inquiries about letters and materials about problems, and four were complaints.

The greatest number of letters concerned the events in NKAO and the surrounding area. Last week alone, 16 letters came in (many of them collective letters) whose authors are people belonging to a great variety of nationalities, people for whom Azerbaijan is their native land and ancestral home.

Veterans of labor A. Mosiyan, A. Kechoryan, N. Bedzhanyan, and A. Abramyan sent to the editorial office an appeal to their fellow Armenians who are inhabitants of Nagornyy Karabakh. They live in the village of Khurdalan.

"Where are you, respected and wise aksakaly [term unknown] of Nagornyy Karabakh? Where are those Heroes of the Soviet Union who, along with their brother-representatives of the Soviet peoples, achieved victory over fascist Germany? Where are the women who shouldered men's burdens during the hard years of the Great Patriotic War?

"Can it be that these honored and respected people have also fallen under the influence of nationalist groups? After all, we, the sons of Nagornyy Karabakh, are proud of you and your successes, we have always lived with our heads held high. But what is happening now? The people of Karabakh are a constant topic in all the newspapers of the Union and the world, as strikers. Does this really become you? The enemies of our people rejoice, and say that Armenians are against perestroyka. Isn't this a disgrace to us?..."

"Esteemed comrades! Residents of Nagornyy Karabakh," the veterans of labor continue, "come to your senses, get down to work. You have already done great harm to the economy of Nagornyy Karabakh, the republic, and the entire country."

"What kind of extremist group is this, whom issue after issue of all the newspapers are blaming for what is happening, and who belongs to it?" asks I. Gasanov, an editorial staffer on the newspaper MAYAK and resident of Ali-Bayramlakh. A pertinent question. Who are they? Why do they have the ability to violate Soviet laws? Are our law enforcement organs really incapable of coping with them? How long are we going to tolerate those who ignore the Constitution, in the NKAO?

It was from the position of the Fundamental Law of our life [the Constitution] that republic State Prize Laureate and Doctor of Geographical Sciences A. Eyubov, serviceman A. Garibov, and veterans of labor Martev and G. Gasanov, who recently visited Baku from Armenia, as well as many others of our readers, approach a resolution to the problems of Nagornyy Karabakh.

Many calls have also been received concerning the opening of courses in the Azeri language in the Baku House of Technology under the Republic Council of Scientific-Engineering Societies. Callers have wanted to know the address, telephone numbers, and criteria for admission.

Here are the answers to your questions. The Baku House of Technology is at 2 Malygin Street, and all the information can be obtained by dialing 98-41-79. Classes are being conducted on a cost-accounting basis. The instruction will be carried out by the accelerated method by linguists and staffers of the republic Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics. We invite all those who wish to learn the Azeri language and to become acquainted with the unique and rich culture and history of Azerbaijan.

06854

### **More Discussion Urged on Reasons Behind NKAO Problems**

18300397B Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA  
in Russian 7 Jul 88 p 1

[Article by Isa Ismailzade, poet, laureate of the Azerbaijan Komsomol Prize: "Time for Dialogue"]

[Text] What did I expect from the 19th Party Conference? First, to get some answers, if only partially, to questions touching on the fundamental problems which have accumulated not only during the time of stagnation, but also from the time of Stalinism. The report by Comrade Gorbachev and the course of the conference partially confirmed my hopes.

What makes me glad? I am glad that, as the course of the conference showed, this was one of the most democratic forums in the history of our society. At last the walls of the Kremlin Palace have heard the voice of the pure, naked, and bitter truth... After all, previously, during the

time of stagnation, the reaction of the hall was unanimous: support with prolonged applause! Now the Kremlin Palace of Congresses has become more thoughtful in its assessments, and the many-sided hall was not about to forego discussion in supporting even the leaders of our party; it has ceased to be afraid of polemics and sharp arguments for the sake of justice. There were even reproaches addressed to many "champions" of perestroika who, while passing themselves off as proponents of perestroika, are in actual fact undermining it.

What surprised me at the party conference?

M. S. Gorbachev's report noted that "in recent times we have more than once run up against attempts to use democratic rights for antidemocratic purposes. To some people it seems that any issues at all may be handled in this manner—from redrawing borders to creating opposition parties. The CPSU Central Committee considers that such abuses of democratization are in fundamental opposition to the tasks of perestroika, they go against the interests of the people." But right after the report there were even more attempts to press territorial demands in the context of the unfolding processes of democratization and glasnost...

There was a press conference with representatives of Azerbaijan, and many questions, naturally, about NKAO. As the excerpts from the conference shown on Central Television Broadcasting made clear, discussion centered only on the oblast's economic problems. But is this the main reason why part of the population of Nagornyy Karabakh has not been going to work for five months now? It is strange that representatives of our republic who spoke at the press conference said nothing about the main reasons for the events which occurred: why do we say among ourselves here in the republic that public opinion in the country is misinformed and, at the same time, when the opportunity arises to tell the truth—we keep quiet? If I'm not right about this and everything was said at the press conference, then why wasn't it heard on television and why was nothing said about it in the report on the press conference? Incidentally, this report, it seems to me, should in any case be published in full in the republic press, and shown on Azerbaijan Television.

What else would I like to say? That perestroika in our republic is still, unfortunately, proceeding too slowly. Many, many regional problems have accumulated. We can solve them only by becoming actively involved in the process of renovating society. Only thus can we escape the empty show and saccharine words which have for so long been the norm of our life, from the moral fudging [pripiski] which has become strongly rooted in many people's consciousness.

06854

**Estonian 'Popular Front' Clarifies Program**  
*18000625 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Jul 88 p 4*

[Manifesto "To Citizens of the ESSR" signed Coordinating Center of the Popular Front for the Support of Perestroika; last seven paragraphs are an editorial comment in boldface]

[Text] Events of the past 2 months have convincingly shown the willingness of a large part of our republic's population to close ranks around the Popular Front for the Support of Perestroika. After the 150,000-strong demonstration on Tallinn's Singers Field on June 17, there can be no further debate on whether or not such movement should exist. Life itself has provided an answer to this question.

At the same time, the danger of a split in Estonia's population along the nationality lines has not been overcome. Such a split would play into the hands of enemies of revolutionary changes in our republic.

From the very start, the Popular Front's goal has been to bring together all supporters of perestroika regardless of nationality. But, before its final shape has been determined or main statutes formulated, the movement became an object of suspicion in some circles, and even of outright distrust. By its very nature, the Popular Front is open to a plurality of opinions and constructive criticism.

Its task is to mobilize the people's active participation in forming organs of power and influencing their work on a continuous basis, as well as to channel popular initiatives in restructuring of our society.

A certain shortcoming of the movement is the modest, thus far, participation in it of Estonia's Russian-speaking population. Moreover, the press occasionally makes attempts to paint the Popular Front as a movement pursuing purely nationalistic goals or undermining certain "sacred" or legitimate foundations.

The impartial observer would admit that it is the Popular Front that has been making determined efforts to promote mutual understanding between the Estonian and the Russian populations.

Taking this into consideration, the coordinating center of the Popular Front feels the need to reiterate to Estonia's citizens some principles on which the movement's activities are based.

1. While consistently defending legitimate interests of the Estonian nation based on the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy, the front decisively opposes discrimination against members of other nationalities living in the republic, violation of their legal rights or insults to their human dignity. (This includes questions related to the state language and ESSR citizenship.)

Unconditionally condemning Stalin's mass deportations from Estonia in 1941 and 1949, the Popular Front is equally determined in opposing any other forced and humiliating methods to relocate any other group of population.

2. The Popular Front represents a popular movement, and for this simple reason it is not subordinate to any administrative entity, while remaining strictly within the limits of the law.

The interpretation of the principle of party leadership as subordination to the administrative will of the party apparatus should be considered a remnant from the periods of Stalinism and stagnation. Party influence through communists' personal authority seems to be more in line with the principles of perestroika and with the CPSU Statute.

3. Other social and political organizations and other entities have shown their inability to carry out the socio-political mission assumed by the Popular Front. This, however, in no way precludes participation by representatives of those organizations and entities, including working collectives' councils, in the Popular Front movement.

4. The basic statutes of the Popular Front have been published and are open to debate; until they are approved, various modifications and additions can be made in them. In their final form, these documents will be approved at a republic-wide popular congress. The coordinating center rejects the following attitude: first you do everything, and then we will see whether to join you or not.

The Popular Front has not been set up by somebody for the benefit of the people but created by the people themselves, which in practice means the participation in perestroika by active citizens with a highly developed sense of responsibility for the fate of the society. Inevitably, the Popular Front becomes the school of democracy for all citizens.

The Popular Front movement persistently seeks compromises (including mutual concessions) in inter-nationalities relations, taking into account interests of all nationalities, including the smallest ones. Only this democratic approach can help overcome tensions between nationalities and help implement revolutionary changes in the political system and the economy.

The coordinating center of the Popular Front calls on all residents of the ESSR not to fall for provocations fanning enmity between nationalities, whatever their source. We should follow the principle whereby criticism of any incidents of nationalist extremism and chauvinism would come from representatives of the same nationality. Under no circumstances should such criticism degenerate into a squabble between people of different nationalities.

The coordinating center hopes that all local groups and regional councils of Popular Front representatives will actively work to overcome misunderstandings between different nationalities. A successful solution of this problem will help take a decisive step toward making the Popular Front for the Support of Perestroyka into an important force in the EsSSR political life.

Only popular unity based on the purity of our goals, cool heads and decisive actions can help us withstand the onslaught of regressive forces and guarantee the irreversibility of perestroyka.

Editorial Comment:

"Here it is at last!" was our initial response to this document. At last, the founders of the Popular Front—publicly, using mass media—clarified their stand on many aspects of this popular movement, placed the emphases, pointed out the essential issues and, most importantly, spelled out their goals.

After studying the text attentively we had several comments; this is rather natural when one is genuinely interested in the movement, since it is still so new and is currently being formed, and its organizers themselves call on everyone to work together: "the basic statutes of the Popular Front... are open for debate; until they are approved, various modifications and additions can be made in them."

Let us search together, then. Thus, the fact that the Russian-speaking population only modestly participates in the Popular Front appears not only as a "certain shortcoming" but a mistake. Only common goals can bring people together. Consequently, one of the most important tasks of the Popular Front should be to involve the Russian-speaking population in the movement. We think that it can be done by clarifying its goals and formulating the concrete means of attaining them. How? For one thing, by not making loud declarations about the state language and citizenship but by explaining what is meant by these concepts as plainly as possible, so that any citizen could understand them.

In general, we would like to see more concrete statements and stronger proof. For instance, what is meant by the press' attempts to present the Popular Front in a false light? Are criticism, doubts and questions viewed as attempts to discredit the movement? Is not the Popular Front, "by its very nature... open to a plurality of opinions and constructive criticism"? Before picking up a fight, it is important to understand for what and against what it will be fought.

Originally, we planned to publish the manifesto and our comments on it next week, in our usual page devoted to the Popular Front. We changed our plans because of one word: it is present in the text published yesterday in the newspaper NOORTE KHYAEL and broadcast on the Estonian radio, but is absent from the Russian-language

text. Both versions, Estonian and Russian, were sent to the media by the coordinating center itself. We carefully compared the two versions and found differences.

Remember "the press occasionally makes attempts" sentence? Well, in the Estonian-language version, meant for a wide Estonian audience, there is a modifier defining the kind of press: "Russian-language."

This may be sloppiness in translation. Yet, it appears, even if inadvertently, to be an attempt to represent the Russian-language press as an enemy of a popular movement.

12892

**LaSSR Assesses Writers' Union Plenum,  
Economic Issues**

*18000615a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
23 Jun 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At a regular meeting of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee information was discussed from central committee secretary Ya.Ya. Okherin on the course of realization of the instructions and recommendations of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev issued during his visit to the republic and concerning improvements in efficiency in industrial production and increased attention to social questions.

It was noted that thanks to purposeful work by party, soviet and economic organs and the labor collectives steady growth had been achieved in socioeconomic indicators. During the first 2 years of the five-year plan national income rose 7.7 percent and industrial output 8.4 percent. Since the start of the five-year plan more than 50,000 apartments have been built, which has made it possible within the framework of the "Housing-90" program to reduce significantly the waiting list for housing as registered before 1981. Some 13,000 places in children's preschool establishment were made available, along with 16,000 places in general education schools. The amount of transport, trade, and consumer services grew.

The transfer to a fundamentally new form for the organization of sector management is being accomplished, and as a result the number of ministries and departments will be reduced from 45 to 29. More efficient management forms are being introduced. From this year, more than 1,500 associations, enterprises and organizations and a number of ministries and departments are operating under the conditions of the new economic mechanism. They account for 71 percent of industrial output, 92 percent of retail trade turnover and 88 percent of contract construction work.

At the same time it was pointed out a whole range of unresolved problems still remain in the republic's social and economic development. No economic mechanism has been devised for territorial development and combining the interests of regions and sectors; the ecological situation is deteriorating.

One enterprise in ten is failing to meet its contractual obligations, and one in fifteen is not meeting targets for the production of consumer goods; there are still difficulties in using realized assets for social development.

The active part of fixed production capital is being renewed only slowly and a switch is being made to a two-shift or three-shift work regime in industry. Quality output and its competitiveness are being improved too slowly.

Along with the Council of Ministers (Yu.Ya. Ruben) and Gosplan (M.L. Raman), Ya.Ya. Okherin was assigned the task of drawing up and implementing additional measures to insure the elimination of shortcomings, improve efficiency in socioeconomic development in the republic, and meet established plan targets.

The creation under the Central Committee of a group of consultants to deal with questions of providing the public with foodstuffs was approved. It includes members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet, well-known organizers in agricultural production, scientists, party and soviet workers and representatives of the creative intelligentsia.

Matters connected with the materials from the Union of Writers plenum attended by the leaders of other creative unions in the republic were reviewed. It was noted that according to the assessment of a recent Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, the board plenum of the Union of Writers has become a significant factor in activating public life in the republic and has shown the growing political role of the artistic intelligentsia and its interest in developing and deepening the processes of perestroyka. The plenum was an integral part of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It expressed full support for the theses' main propositions and for the course set by the CPSU to expand democracy and glasnost and renew society, and it put forward a whole series of constructive proposals. The candid debate at the plenum, the proposals made by those attending, and publication of its materials in the press have become a practical confirmation of glasnost and of democratic forms for expressing the views of the various strata of society.

At the same time the Central Committee Buro noted that in individual speeches, important questions concerning the socioeconomic development of the republic, and its history, were interpreted from subjectivist positions.

The plenum resolution contains a number of controversial propositions that are being perceived ambiguously by the party organizations, labor collectives and public and require additional comprehensive analysis giving due consideration to the interests of all social groups and nationalities living in the republic.

It was deemed expedient to set up three groups to examine proposals connected with the further development of the republic's socioeconomic, cultural, and sociopolitical life. One group, under the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, will handle problems of party life, ideological work, culture, science and education; a second, under the Supreme Soviet Presidium, will examine questions of improving the Latvian SSR Constitution and improving the work of the soviets; a third, under the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, will deal with questions of accelerating development in the economy and sociocultural sphere, the rational location of production forces, and the elimination of demographic and ecological deformations.

Special attention must be paid to realization of the programs outlined in the field of ecology and demography, the food field, and the construction of sociocultural projects. Together with the scholars, it was recommended that the groups study the question of regional cost accounting.

The central committee departments and the party gorkoms and raykoms should focus the attention of party and public organizations and economic leaders on practical implementation of the decisions of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee 10th and 12th plenums, and on strengthening the ideological-political, international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers, proceeding from this assessment of the political situation in the republic.

In political and ideological work the party organizations must clearly define the position of the creative intelligentsia; the essence of this position is to support the party course of deepening perestroyka and preventing attempts by extremist elements to contrive to use it for speculative purposes through separate discussion of propositions in the materials from the board plenum of the Union of Writers. Support should be given only to what is proposed on the ground of socialism and on behalf of socialism.

Certain other matters of party life were also discussed at the meeting of the Central Committee Buro.

**Reasoned Approach to Latvian-Russian Ethnic Conflicts Proposed**

18000615b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
26 Jun 88 pp 2-3

[Article by I. Geyman: "Why Young Boys Are Hurt," or, "How Children's Play Is being Elevated to a High Level"]

[Text] Today much is being said in the press and on television about the problems of relations between the nations. All those who speak and write about this subject rush about in circles as if they have hot porridge in their mouths, covering themselves with general statements and making reference to extreme situations. They say: when we fought shoulder to shoulder during the war no one asked about the nationality of a child that had to be rescued from a fire. Yes, of course we fought. Of course we saved children. People do not think about such things in those circumstances. But in everyday life nationalist and chauvinist attacks wound so deeply and so painfully that for a long time you are unable to come to your senses.

*I am a Latvian. My husband was a Russian. We adopted our sons from a children's home; that was also Russian. So I am an internationalist. All our lives we have taught our children not to single people out by their nationality but to assess them from their deeds. Unfortunately, life has forced us to amend this, and today I can no longer be so certain when I talk about this. Why? These are the facts.*

*When I used to work in Dundaga a friend of my husband's used to visit us, a driver. He used to say to me: "Why do you Latvians call yourselves a nation? A laugh, but not a nation! You could all fit into a handful and disappear. We Russians—now there's a nation! Large, powerful..." I used to answer that the main thing is not quantity but quality; but the bitterness remained.*

*My adopted son also started to think seriously about this. When he was 7 he came home from school and announced that "Latvians are no good. They should be beaten up." "Who said that?" I asked. My son answered: "Our teacher." I said nothing to that "teacher" lest the fire be directed onto small son. Then he came home beaten and frightened. Now my adopted son went to another school, but he still said the same: "Latvians are no good. They should be beaten up." "And will you beat them up?" I asked. "Yes" he answered.*

*Now I say nothing. I do not want to take advantage of a child's openness. They might take their revenge on him. However, this shows graphically how things stand with international indoctrination in Russian schools from the first grade to the tenth. I simply fail to understand how the Ministry of Education permits this. It is hardly part of the curriculum.*

*Let me cite another example. Last autumn I was in Riga and hurrying to catch a bus. Ahead of me four young girls from secondary school were walking arm in arm. I asked them to step aside to let me pass. But they just turned to me laughing and one of them said impudently, "We do not understand your bar language."*

*There are things that you cannot forgive. And I cannot forgive it. When I hear Russian, I clench my teeth.*

*...I would like answers to my questions. Just do not say that these attacks are by individual unaware elements.*

(Signed) G. Andreyeva. Rizhskiy rayon, Malpils settlement.

We had to somewhat abridge G. Andreyeva's letter before publication since it listed in general most the same kind of instances of Russians dealing arrogantly with Latvians—a hairdresser in Daugavpils, a bus driver on Route 3 in Riga, passengers on a bus from Aluksna to Riga, and so forth. Precisely because, as the author of this letter writes, "internationalism has breathed its last breath."

In recent weeks, along with letters from the representatives of the Russian-speaking population in the republic expressing insults offered them, our newspaper has received several letters like the one quoted above. They are close to it in moods and thoughts and, in our opinion, require not shameful silence but calm and frank discussion.

I recall three years ago when the party proclaimed the new course and many of us approved democratization and glasnost and the plans for economic renewal. We understood that the crimes of Stalinism and the blank spots in recent history are being talked about not to undermine socialism but so that people will be able to look to tomorrow without fearing the knock at the door in the night, or arbitrary-command methods of leadership, or persecution from an oppressive bureaucrat. Possibly the process of democratization would have brought our republic more advantage if the essentially progressive movement for public activeness had not been joined by people who, to judge from everything, would like to compromise perestroika. To compromise it and present it not as the road to power by the people but the cause of public licentiousness, outbursts of dissension among the nations, and anarchy.

When the atmosphere has been heated up and the nerves strung up, the ability to look at one's own deeds and words soberly and self-critically is lost. Our reader G. Andreyeva writes with true bitterness that "in everyday life nationalist and chauvinist attacks wound so deeply and painfully that for a long time that you are unable to come to your senses." How right this is, how correct! But what about G. Andreyeva's letter itself: does it not



wound deeply and painfully? Is it so difficult to see nationalist attacks behind the tendentious facts expressed in the words of the letter?

No. I am not about to reject directly that some driver with chauvinist arrogance talked about the small size of Latvia. Or that a hairdresser sniffed disdainfully when she was asked to speak in Latvian. Or that a malicious, mentally unbalanced trolleybus driver could swear at an old lady who failed to understand his explanation made in Russian. It is possible that all these things really happened. Neither do I doubt that many more facts similar to those cited by G. Andreyeva could be listed. But what would this indicate? That in Latvia Latvians are subjected to discrimination? Of course not. Because the editorial offices have received just the same kind of list of facts, but this time with the address "the other way round." Consequently, following this logic, we would have to claim that the Russian-speaking population in Latvia is subjected to discrimination. But that is not happening either. What then?

The answer to this question is not simple. First and foremost, I think that here, as in other areas of life, we are reaping the rich harvest of the period of stagnation when mention of the national question was never made except to the accompaniment of fanfares. Those standing at the helm of state were reluctant to see the problems that had built up and they made extensive use of rouge and shamelessly deceived the people. On the other hand, we lost the standards of dealings between the nations at the primary, everyday level. And so instead of not paying particular attention to the insulting words of a poorly indoctrinated person, today we are directing our blows at ambition, starting to "clarify relations" and manipulating the facts in our own favor.

Of late—a time of candid and bold discussion—from various tribunes much has fairly been said about the Stalinist repressions, rigid centralization in management of the national economy, mistakes in the economy and in planning, and the barbarous destruction of the environment. Many of these problems are common to the entire country, even to the entire world. But enlightened orators often lose sight of this particular circumstance and present things as though it is only in Latvia that the raw materials base, manpower resources, the national makeup of the population and other factors are not being taken into account. In this way the image of a nation being violated is created. And in this way emotions become charged and insult is fanned.

Or take another version of manipulating the facts "in one's own favor." The activity of the Slokskiy pulp-and-paper plant, which is causing major environmental damage in Yurmala, is resulting in legitimate grudges. But as a rule this problem is presented without the historical background, and therefore many viewers and readers have the impression that the enterprise was built during the time of Soviet power and that thus Soviet power alone is to blame for all the misfortunes of that famous

resort. But, as the encyclopedia states, the plant was constructed in 1895, and the first 1,660 tons of pulp and 1,035 tons of paper were produced 90 years ago, in 1898. By 1913 output had risen many times over and 870 people were already working there. During World War I and up to 1921 the enterprise was not in operation, and it could no longer be brought back from the dead. But it was precisely under the bourgeois government that production was started up again in 1922, and during the Thirties it continued to grow rapidly. So that the Soviet authorities obtained this environmentally harmful production facility as a legacy, and now face the task of neutralizing its baneful effect on nature.

As they receive one-sided information and become the victims of unfair manipulation of the facts, people standing at the foot of some tribunes perceive all this directly, without any kind of critical analysis of the situation. And then in a excited state some people pour out their charged emotions in letters like the one that our reader sent us from Malpils.

During the Thirties my stepfather was arrested because of his Latvian origin. He was called an enemy of the people and we were notified that he had been sentenced to 10 years in the camps. At that time, in Kharkov, where we lived, there was a large Latvian colony. After the night visits started it melted away before our very eyes. And so recently, on 14 July, when people in Riga were invited to take part in measures devoted to the memory of the victims of Stalinism I also visited the Freedom Monument and attended a meeting in Kronwald Park. You can imagine my surprise when I saw that some people's clothing was adorned with colors of the bourgeois flag and there were even state flags of bourgeois Latvia. It turned out that I, and indeed many other simpletons, had been deceived and enticed to a "funeral banquet" not for victims of the terror but for the capitalist order, the dictator Ulmanis and his "praetorian guards," and for the storm troopers.

But let us return to the letter from Malpils. We can, of course, understand the alarm of a mother when she sees bruises and bumps on her child's body. But here we must also understand that the customs reigning in a boy's world are the same the world over. They show off in front of each other, boast of their strength and dexterity, try to take charge; these are the thoughts of young men. I myself was something of a cock of the walk in my childhood. And my enemies were by no means all lads of my own nationality. We used to bloody each others' noses and give each other black eyes. And it used to be that the least tough ones would complain to their parents. The mothers would engage in noisy rows in the street and threaten the direst punishments. But never—do you hear me, G. Andreyeva?—never did all these misunderstandings of those childhood years acquire and national, nationalistic or chauvinist character. Because what nationalism is there among children? This is why, when we grow up, there is no way to intervene in boys' cock-fighting and translate it into the orbit of friction between nations.

It is another matter when at home you constantly hear from a child that Russian or Latvians should be beaten up; there is no point in accusing the Ministry of Education or the government of some mortal sin. What is more useful: for a child not to repeat what he hears in his own family, or not to permit blunders in his education? We receive finished homes, apartments, machines, clothing. Is it possible that we are also starting to demand that our children should come already "finished," properly educated?

The fact that the spiritual atmosphere in the family of our reader is not as it should be can be seen from her letter. This is what she says: "When I hear Russian I clench my teeth..." Whence such hatred against any passerby speaking Russian? Not against Stalin, not against anyone else to blame for the repressions, the incorrect planning, the encroachment upon nature, but just in general against anyone—a neighbor, a passerby, a work comrade?

"Clenching one's teeth... My stepfather was born in Latvia. His parents and his parents' parents were born and grew up in this land. During the war his mother, my grandmother, was shot along with many of the inhabitants of Livany. They were shot because they were Jews. The wife of my stepfather's brother was shot in Riga, along with her tiny child. For the same reason. I think. G. Andreyeva, that you can guess who did this, can you not? Guess who stained their hands with the blood of innocent and defenseless people? So does that mean that after almost half a century I must grind my teeth when I meet you or your relatives on the street or hold your letter in my hand and read it? Of course not! Because you yourself were a child 50 years ago, and could have had nothing to do with the "storm troopers." And whoever was guilty of that genocide is himself now in the ground or received his just punishment after the defeat of fascism. (It would be tragic if the well-conceived memorials to the victims of Stalinist repression in our republic were overshadowed by a "memorial" to these Unmenschen.)

And there is one more important aspect to the letter received by the editorial office. The author asserts that she is an internationalist. Of course, mixed marriages do build bridges between peoples and promote mutual understanding. But alas! a mixed marriage is by no means all there is to the concept of internationalism. That would be an oversimplified approach to one of the most complex problems of our time. Internationalism is a moral category, a world-outlook category, and this is shown convincingly by the letter that we have been discussing. It is precisely a primitive interpretation of a complex concept that has led a person with a particularly Russian name to speak out so rigidly against everything Russian.

The word "migrants" has recently emerged on the crest of national activeness. Some consider that these are Russian-speaking rolling stones who wander about the country in search of high wages and the good life. And it would be a good thing, they say, if there were fewer of these migrants in Latvia. That is, let them wander about in other regions. But alas! this is futile daydreaming.

Migration is one of the distinguishing features of our century. Today, perhaps, there is no state to be found in the world where people from different countries and regions are not working alongside the indigenous population. Not to understand this means to condemn oneself to bitter disappointment.

And it is not superfluous to recall that any action results in an opposite action. If we start to call the the Russian-speaking population in Latvia migrants, then Latvians run the risk of falling into the same category in other regions. In Moscow, for example, according to the 1979 census some 5,209 Latvians were listed, and that number is now significantly larger. During my own wanderings as a journalist I have met Latvian scientists in the Novosibirsk Akademgorodok, fishermen in Kamchatka, seamen in Vladivostok, construction workers on the Main Baykal-Amur Railroad Line and in Surgut, a secretary of the Khanty-Mansiyskiy okrug party committee, a cook in Tashkent, engineers in Gorkiy and Sverdlovsk... They were all living in a part of the Soviet Union that they love and had settled down with their families and apartments and their domestic goods and chattels and grown into the local traditions. What if they started to apply psychological pressure to them and hinted that they were strangers and that they should back to their own place?

Yes, in nature, nothing is black or white. Between the two poles of those colors there is a multitude of halftones and shades. They must be taken into account when any problem is considered. This is especially true if you want to be not just a resident but a citizen.

The list of basic proposals from communists and workers to the 19th All-Union Party Conference raised problems very important for the fate of our region. There can be no doubt that some of them will be resolved quickly while other will be taken into account when long-term plans are drawn up. But these are global issues. Problems between nations at the level of everyday living and interrelationships in work and everyday life are another matter. Here, it seems to me, a wise saying from one of our journalistic colleagues is apropos. "Everything," he said, must be taken seriously, but not tragically"; meaning by this that excessive emotion and nervous tension are poor helpers in important matters.

09642

**Improved Ties with Latvian Emigres Sought**  
*18000615c Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 8*

[Article by D. Zelmenis, chief of the information and press department in the Latvian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "An Invitation to Dialogue"]

[Text] Riga—Over the centuries the geographical position of the small area of Latvia has repeatedly turned its territory into a theater of military actions. Our history

includes periods of German, Polish and Swedish domination. After the Northern War the land of Latvia was included as part of tsarist Russia. In the 20th century three revolutions and two world wars have raged over Latvia.

It is no wonder that in such complicated historical conditions the Latvian population has been dispersed to various parts of the world. After the 1905-1907 revolution some of the Latvian participants were forced to leave their motherland in order to avoid repressions by the tsarist regime. During World War I Latvia became an epicenter of military actions. The German Kaiser's army occupied its entire southwest part—Courland Province. About 400,000 of the inhabitants of Courland who did not want to remain under the German heel left their homes and went as refugees first to Livonia and then into the central regions of Russia. The largest industrial enterprises in Riga were also removed there, together with their workers. There, in central Russia, they were forced out by revolution and civil war. It was precisely in Russia that most of the Latvian Red Riflemen—the Guard of the October Revolution—were found. According to some figures, during the Twenties and Thirties about 200,000 Latvians were living there, who before 1937 enjoyed a certain cultural autonomy: they had their own schools, theaters and publishing houses. It was a great misfortune that most of the Latvians who had been the most loyal to the cause of the revolution and the October shared the tragic fate of the victims of the Stalinist terror.

The next wave of emigration took place in the summer and autumn of 1944, when about 200,000 Latvians left their native lands and set out in fishing boats first for Sweden and later dispersed to the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, the FRG and other countries. This wave of Latvian emigres consisted mainly of people who had not accepted the socialist system. They included war criminals, collaborators, the big and middle bourgeoisie and some of the petty bourgeoisie. They were united in their hatred for socialism and a craving for vengeance for the nationalization of the factories, ships and houses. And it must be recognized that they also included some of the Latvian intelligentsia and people who for ideological reasons had not taken part in the socialist order.

Not all of the latter, however, were such people. Some part of the democratic intelligentsia strictly speaking had no weighty reasons for leaving their motherland. They had alas! succumbed to the propaganda campaign of intimidation conducted by Goebbels' department. Here it must be recognized that the illegal deportation of the civilian population on 14 June 1941 helped a great deal to promote the effectiveness of Hitler's propaganda. As a result, a number of eminent figures belonging to the democratic trend in Latvian culture finished up abroad: artists, composers, writers, scholars. Subsequently they were sorely missed by Latvian Soviet culture, which they could have significantly enriched. Once abroad these

people were forced to content themselves with the role and place assigned to them by the country where they were. Thus, a conductor and composer who was well known in Latvia became a copier in a music store, while one eminent Latvian playwright was a unskilled worker to the day he retired. During the Fifties some well known cultural figures did return to Soviet Latvia and entered successfully into the republic's cultural sphere. But the rest remained forever separated from their motherland. According to figures from the emigres themselves, only about three percent were workers...

As they say, an emigre eats bitter bread. My working experience in the Soviet embassy in Stockholm and meetings with Latvians now living in Sweden convinced me that essentially an emigre is a person with a wound that will not heal.

So how are our relations with Latvian emigres? Complicated. Variable. You are aware all the time that these emigres are political emigres: they left their motherland mainly out of political considerations. Although it is also indisputable that a stratification has taken place in the emigre environment. Most emigres have abandoned vigorous political activity. But at the same time a group of reactionary leaders—insignificant numerically, it is true—stands out, and they have initiated vigorous anti-Soviet activity and become tools of the Western intelligence services. In the late Forties and early Fifties their subversive activities were seen in the recruitment and infiltration of spies and saboteurs onto Latvian territory. They were assigned the task of making contact with gangster formations operating in the Latvian forest. Later, convinced of the futility of their attempts to go back to the past, these people reoriented themselves on ideological subversive activity.

At the same time, another group was gradually taking shape, also numerically small at first. These were open friends who found joy in our successes and achievements. Reactionary leaders called them traitors and tried in every possible way prevent them from traveling to "occupied" Latvia. But they went anyway, and with each passing year, starting in the mid-Fifties, there have been more and more of them. The reactionary leaders have lost this struggle for people's souls.

Later, it was the turn of the development of cultural ties. And again the same thing was repeated. Whoever dared to go to a concert given by artists from Soviet Latvia was branded traitor. But today it can be said that the reactionary leaders have also lost this battle. They have tried to compensate for their losses in another profession, throwing themselves with redoubled vigor into the so-called "Baltic question." This totally artificial and false "question" seemed to some people in the West promising from the standpoint of whipping up anti-Sovietism.

When considering the Latvian emigres one concludes that as such, in the strict sense of the word they have been very few. What I have in mind is people who independently decided to leave the motherland. There are foreigners of Latvian extraction, and there are more and more of them. It is pleasing, even touching, that they can still speak Latvian and that the Latvian chord still rings in their souls. In contrast to their fathers and grandfathers, these people have not lost property in Latvia and so should have no reason to hate us. It would be desirable to open a dialogue with them. At first, even a guarded one. After all, the U.S. President Ronald Reagan and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev have sat down at the negotiating table. And they had more issues on which their views were diametrically opposed. It seems to me that a dialogue between representatives of the cultural life in Soviet Latvia and cultural and scientific figures among Latvians abroad would bring to light new fields of cooperation to develop Latvian culture and for mutual enrichment. The appeal from the Latvian Cultural Foundation to Latvians living abroad is essentially also a step in such dialogue.

The Latvians living abroad today include many talented physicians, architects, musicians, artists, writers, actors and scholars. Their colleagues in Latvia are very interested in meeting with them and exchanging experience. Their contribution could significantly enrich culture and science in Latvia. During the course of perestroika the union republics have been granted the right to move out directly into the world market through their own foreign trade enterprises. Our "Interlatviya" could become a business partner of Latvian businessmen living in countries in the West. And there are great opportunities for dialogue here.

What could we do better to prepare for the upcoming dialogue with our countrymen abroad? How ready are we for such dialogue?

The first thing that worries me is where a foreigner of Latvian extraction turns if we want to establish contact with an organization that is of interest to him. Today the Latvian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has its own representative only at the Soviet embassy in Sweden. It seems to me extremely important that staffing for consular workers in embassies and consulates of the USSR abroad should take into account how effective they can be in working with emigres from the Soviet Union. In my view, at least one diplomat representing the union republic from which emigres living in that particular country originated should be sent to work in Soviet missions abroad.

Second, I suggest that great opportunities for mutual and useful cooperation are to be found in direct professional ties between fellow countrymen abroad and their colleagues in our country. One example of this is the Orthopedic Foundation days organized in Riga this year within the framework of a working visit to the USSR by the founder and leader of this foundation, professor,

doctor of medicine and member of the American Society of Surgeons Kristap Keggi. And all of this started with a personal acquaintance between two eminent traumatologists—our Viktor Kalnberz and an American of Latvian origin—Kristap Keggi. And if they had not got to know each other by accident, how could Keggi have made his proposal about cooperation?

Here in the republic, and not just here, I think, there are extremely few organizations that have international telex and facsimile communications. Our ministry received international telex facilities only 6 months ago (No 161147 VETO SU). I think that all the creative unions and the leading scientific, medical and other establishments should have telex facilities. In other words, it is essential to make it easy for our fellow countrymen who are emigres to make contact with us. Our representation with each other should be reviewed from realistic positions.

Unfortunately, we still often encounter people who would rather receive an American, Japanese, Swede or Englishman rather than one of their own fellow countrymen. We also need glasnost and perestroika with respect to emigres. I think that in our contacts with emigres it is high time to abandon the formula "who is not with us is against us." I think that there are increasingly few in the world who are against us. It is time to build our relations with emigres in line with another formula: "Whoever is not against us can be with us."

09642

#### **Debate on Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, State Language, Flag Continues**

#### **Report on Writer Martinkus' Meeting With Vilnius Workers**

*18000638 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
17 Jul 88 p 2*

[Article by A. Gelbakh, reporting the meeting of the writer V. Martinkus, delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, with representatives of the Vilnius Radio Measuring Instruments Plant imeni 60-Letiye Oktyabrya: "Who Is Raising the Flag..."]

[Text] The poet Sigitas Gyada, representative of the Lithuanian movement for restructuring, was also supposed to take part in this meeting. But he was unable to come. Vitautas Martinkus, representative of the Board of the LiSSR Writers Union, was therefore asked to tell him that the invitation from the people at the plant remains in effect, and they are ready to meet S. Gyada at any time that is convenient for him. That was the prologue. Then what the delegate had to say alternated with questions and answers, which gradually passed over into a conversation in which many of the production workers took part.

This meeting continued for more than 2 hours, and it is not possible to describe the course of it accurately in a short newspaper article. Just as it is impossible, in my view, to single out the most important and interesting thing—there was no idle talk. Possibly one has to sacrifice even important details of the conversation, for which I ask forgiveness in advance from those who took part in it and from my readers.

Vytautas Martinkus did not talk about the plenary meetings of the party conference. Detailed and virtually verbatim reports on them have been published. He dwelled on the activity of the commission for preparing the resolution entitled "On Interethnic Relations," of which he was a member.

"At first, there were about 50 delegates on the commission. Then another nine were elected, among them four writers, including myself," V. Martinkus said. "I think this number of writers was no accident on this particular commission. We have been especially disturbed by the problems of communication and of developing the languages of the nationalities. It was the question of language that caused the disputes. Noting the bilingualism that had taken shape in the union republics, some of the delegates proposed that the resolution refer to it as Russian-national. I favored having the national language of the republic come first and proposed amendments in the Constitution and recognition of the language of the nationality as the official language. You have not seen the final version of the document. It says that all the conditions should be created for national-Russian bilingualism to develop harmoniously and naturally, that more concern be shown for the active functioning of the languages of the nationalities in various spheres of government, public, and cultural life."

"If you please," a question followed, "the resolution continues to speak about bilingualism, be it national-Russian. But you, judging by all appearances, have even now not given up the idea of recognition of the Lithuanian language as the official language in our republic. Does this not contradict the document you helped to draft?"

"I suggest that it is not a contradiction at all. First, back in 1977 the constitutions of Georgia and Azerbaijan contained that phrasing, and this has not harmed development of bilingualism in those republics. Second, and surely the most important thing, such a provision does nothing to harm the Russian language—the language of interethnic community in our country. At the same time, recognition of the national language of the republic as the official language will unconditionally help it to develop as a living language. After all, it cannot be considered a normal situation when in Lithuania 95-98 percent of the scientific dissertations are now written in the Russian language, and most documents related to production and economics are also written in Russian. This disturbs me, because this practice inevitably impoverishes the Lithuanian language. It is said that the soul of

a nationality is in its language. Like any Lithuanian, I want that soul to remain alive, to develop, so that in the future books will continue to be written and read in the Lithuanian language.

"There is no nationalism in the provision concerning the official language. After all, it is assumed that the Russian language and Polish language and European language will develop at the same time. This provision does, of course, invigorate the study of the Lithuanian language by inhabitants of the republic who do not belong to the indigenous nationality. But you will agree, that is not harmful either. I do not complain, for example, that I studied Russian, I can speak, read, and write it fluently, though possibly not so figuratively as in my native language. That kind of knowledge only makes one richer."

"I am also a Lithuanian, I was born and grew up in the republic," said Eng Zhigintas Kizhis as he entered the conversation. "I am also disturbed about development of my native language. But I am also disturbed by something else. People of various nationalities who have traditionally shown a desire for friendship in mutual relations have since ancient times been living and working in Lithuania. And now suddenly there is the rotten smell of nationalism. Participants in the movement for restructuring are particularly 'zealous' in this regard. This has been noticeable both at the rallies and also in the bulletins and leaflets that have been distributed. What is your attitude toward this?"

"You know, I have to admit that I was a fervent advocate of the movement for restructuring," Martinkus replied. "I even proposed that the first meetings of the initiating group be held in the Writers Union. But now there is something that is disturbing me as well. Especially the attempts to impart to the movement an exclusively ethnic character. A certain irresponsibility, a desire for cheap popularity, and the showing off of certain people who consider themselves to be the movement's leaders are also disturbing. Take my colleague, the respected writer Vitautas Petkyavichyus, whose words of farewell to the delegates to the conference before they left for Moscow were these: We know, he said, how you will stand up for our proposals: you will go to special stores, you will buy gifts, and you will vote for everything they suggest to you. I do not guarantee that that is verbatim, but the sense is accurate. I must say that he was altogether wrong. There were no special stores at all for the delegates to the conference in Moscow. And we worked strenuously, and we showed persistence in defending the proposals, the orders received from the republic's working people.

"A lack of confidence and respect is always displayed toward people when a man has an excessively high opinion of himself. And that is also inherent in certain members of the movement for restructuring. And there is that nationalistic tinge which is an insult to representatives of our nationalities and ethnic minorities."

"What is your personal attitude toward the noisy and fevered superemotions of the rallies, especially the rally in Vingis Park? How do you evaluate the raising of the so-called national flag at that rally, the flag of the Lithuanian bourgeois republic?"

"I believe I have already spoken about my attitude toward the 'superemotions.' The question of the flag is more complicated. I do not know whether it is right to refer to it as the flag of the people or the flag of the nationality; the expression in Lithuanian is more accurate: *tautos velyva*. Unfortunately, it is untranslatable in all its shades of meaning. But that is not the essential point here. It is not so important what the flag is called or what are the colors on it. We need to be quite aware that the flag is a symbol, one that has penetrated deep into the soul of the people. And here we must first of all distinguish who is raising the flag, who is holding it, and in the name of what has it been raised. That is why it seems to me personally that the assurances of A. Brazauskas, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, who was a delegate to the 19th Conference, on recognition of the flag of the bourgeois republic as the flag of a people, are somewhat hasty.

"There is reason to doubt that this particular flag deserves that honor. In working on a book about the inventor of the steam airplane, the Lithuanian Aleksandras Grishkyavichyus (who died in 1863), I did a lot of digging about in the archives, I became familiar with heraldry and other political symbols, including the flags of the State of Lithuania. The very old banner representing the so-called 'columns of Gediminas' seems more interesting and dignified to me personally. But here, I know, there will be no unanimous opinion. And it also results in a certain confusion. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is democratic, that is, the power belongs to the people. And it also has its established state flag. Yet another flag of the people emerges.... In short, I would not be in a hurry about that. The problem needs some thorough thinking from all angles."

During the meeting, there was also discussion of the questions of strengthening the republic's independence, of the cost-accounting (*khozraschetnyye*) relations of the regions, of fighting bureaucracy, etc. Vitautas Martinkus answered all the questions thoroughly, and he spoke sincerely about how he himself looked upon the particular problem. And the gratitude of the production workers for the conversation was equally sincere.

"The conversation with you was very worthwhile for us," the delegate was told at parting by director Burdenko of the Vilnius Oktyabr Radio Measuring Instruments Plant. "It is unfortunate that on the wave of democracy and glasnost quite a few windbags have emerged like dirty foam and have been putting confusing ideas into people's heads. Arousing nationalistic instincts is the most recent harm they have done. Some people who engage in this hide behind the slogans of

restructuring. Our collective is involved in real restructuring. We are effectively performing strenuous assignments, producing products which rival the products of the most famous Japanese and American firms, and we are earning quite a bit of foreign exchange. But, of course, we understand that we are not doing everything we might. The issues of ecology are now quite acute in the republic. Our work collective is ready to take a polluted section of land, forest, or seacoast and restore its original purity and beauty.

"Restructuring is a cause that runs across ethnic lines. And those who today do not understand this will deliberately disunite our efforts, not rally them.... We are convinced that the moment will come when they will be ashamed to look people in the eyes."

#### **Martinkus Objects to Report's Distortion of His Statements**

*18000638 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
23 Jul 88 p 3*

[Open letter to the editors by V. Martinkus: "A Strange Newspaper Account"]

[Text] While I am grateful to the editors of SOVETSKAYA LITVA for its attention, that is the description I would give of the impressions of A. Gelbakh, which were published in the issue on 17 July concerning my meeting with the collective of the Vilnius Radio Measuring Instruments Plant imeni 60-Letiye Oktyabrya. Of course, the newspaper could not publish the entire 2-hour conversation, it was not even organized for the press: recently, I have frequently met with workers of various institutions and enterprises, I share my thoughts on the proceedings of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and I talk about the most urgent concerns in our life.

As if feeling in advance that the account would not be successful, A. Gelbakh apologized in advance that both readers and participants in the meeting might not find in the account certain important (!) details. But it seems to me that someone who has made an apology still cannot do everything he might take a mind to.

Your correspondent took points in the conversation which he chose himself and presented them as my own in direct quotes. Unfortunately, A. Gelbakh did not show me his "coauthored" text, nor did he request authorization, and he showed no concern at all that what was attributed to me in direct quotes corresponded to my vocabulary or style, my intonation, and, most important, to the context of the entire conversation and its general direction. In organizing what I am supposed to have said, the correspondent decided on a collage, that is, he changed the order in certain of my ideas, he composed them as he saw fit, he inserted conclusions and generalizations he invented himself, and so on. I will not even

mention the periods, ellipses, and question marks, which are not such an important thing in a printed text. Behind that, certain of my ideas ended up topsy-turvy.

What is this supposed to mean?

I think that the editors must be more mindful of the elementary requirements of journalistic ethics. Especially since the passages of my conversation selected in the account were very sensitive—friendship among nationalities, aspects of ethnic relations, and the conversation itself took place in a multinational collective.

It is not my purpose to discuss all the points of my conversation at the plant which the correspondent stylistically or even substantively embellished. But on a few essential points I would like to state my view more accurately.

First of all—about the Lithuanian movement to promote restructuring. I have never publicly declared that I believe in the necessity of such a movement and its purposiveness. So long as its leaders are such well-known writers of ours as V. Bubnis, A. Chekuolis, S. Gyada, A. Maldonis, Yust. Martsinkyavichyus, and V. Petkyavichyus, or again such very well-known other figures in art, culture, and science, more often than not members of the party, I believe and think that the goals of the movement coincide with the general objectives known to us all and proclaimed by the Communist Party to be the goals of the restructuring of society. I also stressed that at the plant. I do not suspect those social forces of either nationalism or "separatism." It is another matter that antisocialist and anti-Soviet forces can move close to the movement as a spontaneous form of activity and can even attempt to cling to it. That is now another aspect of the problem, and we also talked about that at the plant.

In the account, the accents in my "direct quotes" were placed so that this movement is accused of nationalism. Even the headline of the article, it seems to me, emphasizes this impression: and the reader is thereby misinformed. After all, the reader is given the idea that this is not only my assessment, but also the position...of the editors. One might even reflect further: this is thereby the position of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and its Bureau as well! Certain readers could theoretically turn against the movement in this way. And that would be wrong. After all, there have been meetings between the aktiv of the movement and the leaders of the republic's Communist Party. (One of them was an assembly organized in the Writers Union; I spoke about it at the plant, in fact, but not about the actual meetings of the initiating group of the movement, which A. Gelbakh mentions in the article; excuse me, it was after all I myself who "mentioned them"!)

The program of the movement has been published in *VECHERNIYE NOVOSTI* (15 July 1988) and in other newspapers. It has thus become a part of our general plans for restructuring.

Exactly the same thing was also said about the "national" flag. There were arguments in the conversation about why the Lithuanian people cherishes and needs the old heraldic symbols which we had to forget not only in the time of Stalin, but also under tsarist Russia. (Which is why it was said that in the mid-19th century the obelisk of the Battle of Borodino became a heraldic symbol of Kaunas as the center of the guberniya.) My doubts about which are the oldest and the most national colors of heraldic Lithuanian banners or combinations of them were also not directed against the idea itself—restoring to the Lithuanian people the symbols of its historical development, the authentic symbols of its statehood. And the efforts of the Buro of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee (and not personal efforts, i.e., those of one of its secretaries) to understand the contemporary relevance of the idea that internationalism can develop and exist only through the vitality of the individual nationality, has seemed to me and does seem to me in essence something to be welcomed, not something to be censured. It is another matter that you do not decide such things seriously in haste.

I have no doubt about your publishing my letter. After all, the editorial in that same 17 July issue stated quite well the ethical principles of journalistic conversations. It was stated there: "Perestroyka means a cleansing. A cleansing in our affairs, our thoughts, our mutual relations. We are exorcising our fear of distortion of socialist legality engendered by the cult of Stalin's personality, we are removing the bad hypocrisy and half-drunken complacency of the Brezhnev period." I fully approve these ideas. But the entire tone of the account and its style indicate something else: this is an attempt to sow discord between representatives of the various nationalities in our republic.

Respectfully, V. Martinkus, delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and chairman of the Board of the LiSSR Writers Union.

### Editorial Reply to Objections

18000638 *Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
23 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] Upon receipt of the open letter from Vitautas Martinkus, the editorial collegium of the newspaper *SOVETSKAYA LITVA* listened carefully to the tape recording of the writer's conversation with the production workers that took place at the Vilnius Radio Measuring Instruments Plant. The members of the editorial collegium spoke with those who took part in the meeting—people of various nationalities, and they, incidentally did not spot the difference between what was published in the newspaper and the essence of the conversation that took place in the collective. The editorial collegium hereby states that the conversation did essentially concern the problems reflected in the report published. In that sense, V. Martinkus' charge that the author of the report wrote what "came into his head" sounds exaggerated.



At the same time, A. Gelbakh, working with an immense amount of material and greatly reducing it, allowed himself to take liberties in quoting the writer directly. While preserving the essence of some of his ideas and expressions, he omitted numerous qualifications, plucked several phrases out of context, brought them to the attention of readers in a different sequence than the one in which they were expressed. This resulted in a certain shifting of emphasis, a categorical aspect of conclusions that is not characteristic of V. Martinkus, and the editorial collegium apologizes to him for that. The author of the report has had this pointed out to him.

The editorial collegium certifies that the correspondent of the newspaper had been officially invited to the meeting of production workers with the writer by its organizers to prepare an account, and it considers unfounded V. Martinkus' remark that the conversation in the work collective was organized "not for the press." In the period of glasnost, this argument seems strange, to say the least.

And finally. The editorial collegium of the newspaper is grateful to V. Martinkus for quoting from the editorial which reflected the position of the editors on the ethical issues of interethnic relations. But we categorically disagree with the writer's assertion that the publication, tone, and style of the account of the meeting in SOVETSKAYA LITVA represented "an attempt to sow discord among representatives of different nationalities in our republic."

07045

**Vilnius Gorispolkom Explains Denial of  
Permission for 1920 Pact Public Meeting**  
*18300624a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
16 Jul 88 p 3*

[Article: "Why Permission Was Not Given for a Public Meeting"]

[Text] The newspaper editorial offices and ELTA have been asked why permission was not given to hold a public meeting on 12 July in Vilnius, and who requested this and in what connection. At the Vilnius Gorispolkom an ELTA correspondent was told the following:

Serving as the pro forma reason for this meeting was the 68th anniversary of the signing of the Peace Treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania. This treaty, signed on 12 July 1920, was very important for Lithuania; it was the beginning of the latter's recognition as a sovereign state. Furthermore, it very convincingly showed that the Soviet republic was consistently promulgating the Leninist nationality policy and respecting the right of peoples' self-determination. Moreover, the anniversary of this treaty's signing was widely noted in the press, and there can be no talk of any desire to keep silent about this.

The fact of the matter in question lies elsewhere.

The call to organize the meeting in Gediminas Square on this occasion was made by the Temperance Movement Club (the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka has nothing in common with it and must not be confused with it!). On more than one occasion the members of this club have stated views and goals which are extremely remote; irresponsible, directly provocational events have taken place. This was also mentioned in the press, and because of it Yu. Kanchis, the club's president, received an official warning from the city procurator. Also among the arrangers of the meeting were other persons who public activities are not beyond reproach. The Leninskiy Rayispolkom had at its disposal information that plans were in effect to utilize this meeting for provocational, anti-Soviet sallies, and that, with this purpose in mind, speakers from other republics had also been invited, as well as representatives of the so-called "Democratic Alliance," which has openly spoken out against the present system and against the Communist Party.

The organizers of the meeting were denied permission to hold it. This was reported in the press. It was explained that conducting a mass even without the rayispolkom's permission is illegal and could be considered as a violation of the public order with all the consequences of administrative or criminal responsibility stemming from this.

On the evening of 12 July, nevertheless, a group of people did attempt to hold a meeting in Gediminas Square. And indeed extremist shouts were heard, malicious sallies against our state occurred, and there were even declarations to the effect that Hitler saved the Lithuanian people. Algirdas Kamantauskas, who is now living in Radvilishkis, attempted to palm himself off as a victim of Stalinism. It turns out that he really was repressed, but the difference was that that during the years 1947-1950 he belonged to the anti-Soviet underground. Furthermore, under the name Gudelyauskas, he took part in an armed robbery. And a certain orator of the "Democratic Alliance" from Moscow expressed a spiritual communality. Attempts were made to provoke idlers in order to please the idlers. However, the officials and volunteer guards did not overstep the bounds of observing public order. No arrests were made. After making noise for about an hour, the organizers were compelled to leave Gediminas Square. The meeting did not take place. To be sure, one of Vilnius' inhabitants, who is well-known for his extremist convictions, termed this gathering a "small parliament of Lithuania's independence" via foreign radio. Comment as to what kind of independence he had in mind would be superfluous. And so this also served as an excuse for the meeting—to stir up some noise "about independence."

The ELTA correspondent's attention was also drawn to the following circumstance: the arrangers of the meeting began to notify the public even prior to obtaining permission. Such a scornful attitude toward the authorities,



whose permission with regard to conducting mass events is mandatory, reveals how little respect the meeting's initiators have either to those who they invited or to the democratization of our life. The idea was also stated that we ought to establish a procedure for conducting mass events by normative acts on the republican level.

2384

### **Lithuanian Group To Promote Karaim Culture Formed**

18000624b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
16 Jul 88 p 3

[Article: "Karaims Are Living in Lithuania..."]

[Text] Within the Lithuanian Cultural Fund a group has been created to assist Karaim culture, and a program has been started to culturally revive this minority people. Galina Kobetskayte, chairperson of the group for assisting the Karaim culture and a docent at the VISI [Vilnius Engineering and Construction Institute], talked about this in greater detail with ELTA correspondent Vida Petrauskayte:

"It will soon be 600 years since a few hundred Karaim families settled down here to take up permanent residence, comprising a small nationality 'island,' with their own traditions, customs, and ethnic self-awareness. But time has passed, the number of pure Karaims has declined, and a genuine danger has arisen that this people will disappear. It is gratifying that a concerned care over the Karaims, as well as over other national minorities, has been assumed by the Lithuanian Cultural Fund, which regards our culture as a component of the general culture.

"Fewer and fewer people, especially young people, know the Karaim language. Therefore, we intend to open a Saturday and, possibly, even a Sunday Karaim school, where certain groups—children, youths, adults—will be able to study this ancient Turkic language. There are pedagogues who can teach the Karaim language. It's our dream to publish a collection of poetry by Karaim authors. Such a book would collect the creative heritage of those who have departed this life and the works of contemporary authors. We intend to publish this collection in two languages. For many years interest in Karaim ethnic cuisine has remained quite high. The school-teacher L. Firkavichene has described many old-fashioned Karaim dishes, and it would be desirable to publish a separate edition of these with more recipes and commentaries, along with colored illustrations. The journalist K. Talachka, who wrote his senior paper at Vilnius University on 'Lithuanian Karaims in Photography,' assembled some valuable pictorial material. In my opinion, an album of photographs describing the Karaims and their customs could be successfully incorporated within the general context of Lithuanian culture.

"On Lyubartas Street in Vilnius a kenesa was built in 1923 using donations from the Karaims. People are now living here. The Lithuanian Cultural Fund has taken steps to assume the kenesa onto its own balance sheet and to outfit a center for Karaim culture here.

"In Trakay, where most of the Lithuanian Karaims live, we could hold festivals of Karaim culture, and invite fellow-countrymen from other Soviet republics as well as from abroad."

2384

### **Broadening Power of Local Soviets in Leningrad Discussed**

18000639 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian  
28 Jul 88 p 15

[Article under rubric "Implement the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference" by G. Filatov, chief, Leningrad Oblispolkom Department for Comprehensive Economic and Social Development, candidate of economic sciences, and O. Dmitriyeva, candidate of economic sciences: "Manage rather than 'Administer': On Expanding the Economic Functions of Local Soviets"]

[Text] The restructuring of Soviet organs, the change in the role and position of the Soviets of People's Deputies presuppose the reorganization of all aspects of their activity. Moreover, the pledge of strengthening the Soviets' political status is expanding their economic-management influence and strengthening their economic potential. Otherwise, they remain an "authority without force."

A change in the role to be played by the Soviets must transform them into partners with equal rights and authority, as well as aides to enterprises. In this connection, it is important to decide whether it is already possible, within the framework of the existing legislation, to proceed to take practical steps with regard to expanding the sphere of the local Soviets' economic activity. Or should they sit and wait—at first for the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, then—for new elections in April 1989, and then—for new instructions? The answer has been provided in the materials of the 19th All-Union Party Conference: we must act without waiting for final decisions. The more experience is accumulated, the broader will be the scale of experimentation, the better quality, better grounded from both a juridical and economic point of view will be the new legislation about Soviets.

But what should be undertaken specifically and first of all? We must take experience and its analysis as our point of departure.

For the purpose of making a multi-faceted analysis of the possibilities for developing the organizational-economic-management activities of local Soviets, Leningrad Oblast conducted, perhaps for the first time in many years, a

socioeconomic survey of enterprises and rayons by a specially developed methodology. During the course of the survey a unique kind of "inventory" of the economic management was done, and a socioeconomic diagnosis was made of the situation which had evolved.

The results of the comprehensive analysis of the prospects for economic-management interactions between enterprises and local Soviets could become a good foundation for further work, inasmuch as they provide quantitative and qualitative assessments of the reserves of inter-sectorial cooperation, reveal potential partners at this level, and contain specific paths and variants for solving social, ecological, and economic-management problems.

An extensive data bank was assembled, an analysis was made of economic-management initiatives, including approximately a thousand specific recommendations and organizational variants of proportional participation, creation of cooperatives, utilization of waste by-products, and switching of links with regard to cooperation. To carry out these economic initiatives, it is proposed that we use not only the efforts of local Soviets, but also those of enterprises and cooperatives.

Economic surveys were compiled for rayons, which allow us to determine for prospects of their subsequent development, the possibilities for siting new enterprises, and for organizing foreign-economic activity. Publication of such surveys would be extremely useful both for Soviet foreign-trade firms, as well as for their foreign partners. Similar information could help them in seeking forms and directions for investment and cooperation.

The following stipulation must be made: We do not lay claim to any sort of priority. Similar economic and business-conditions surveys were compiled during the 1920's by the guberniya-level economic conferences. V.I. Lenin paid a great deal of attention to their publication. However, this practice was, unfortunately, forgotten in subsequent periods.

As a result of the survey, it has become clear that in 8 out of every 10 enterprises cooperative ties are non-optimal. Instances whereby construction organizations haul cement from the other end of the oblast, whereas an analogous product is being turned out right across the road are far from rare in Leningrad Oblast. In order to accelerate the solution of these problems, we need to create a cost-accounting center for switching ties around in a cooperative manner. It is possible that with the development of wholesale trade an activization of the work done by cost-accounting supply-and-marketing organizations, the need for such a center will fall off by itself. At the present time, however, it is needed.

We maintain the position that even to solve other problems, we should not be afraid of creating temporary, flexible, cost-accounting organizations. Life itself will them prompt us as to whether or not there is a need for them.

Quantitative assessments were made of the reserves in organizing the proportional participation in building production and non-production facilities. Potential partners were determined. It became clear that half of the enterprises would be able to participate on proportional principles in organizing the production of items for inter-sectorial use; 56 percent in the production of the means of mechanization and automation; 62 percent in creating laboratory-experimental, planning and scientific-research services; 94 percent of enterprises—in construction of housing and facilities for social, cultural, and everyday services on these same principles. Proposals were put forth with regard to organizing associated loading-and-unloading firms, repair-and-construction enterprises.

As of now, these reserves are being utilized very poorly. In order to activate them, we are creating an organizational-methodological center for the joint activity of enterprises and the construction of facilities on proportional principles.

Economic managers know that even though territorial organs do respond to the production of consumer goods, they cannot achieve much by utilizing merely administrative-telephoning methods. Enterprises themselves must select their own products list (frequently a non-specialized one), assess the business conditions in the market, and organize their sales campaigns. But, as a rule, they have at their disposal neither skilled specialists, nor the information, nor do they have the business connections.

It is obvious that here too it would be feasible to have specialized, cost-accounting services, which would take upon themselves the middle-man and coordination functions.

The Leningrad Oblispolkom has organized a permanently functioning, traveling exhibit of consumer goods. Working with it will be a cost-accounting, technological office, which will also be capable of rendering services in marketing and advertising to all the enterprises of the region. We think that in the future this office will be able to engage in studying the demand for paid services as well.

Over the last few months we have organized centers for temporarily renting out enencumbered equipment in this oblast's rayons, as well as store-workshops for processing waste by-products. The Inteks Cost-Accounting and Engineering Center has been created under the oblispolkom's jurisdiction. Its functions include rendering scientific and technical and information services, as well as administrative consulting. The initial data bank regarding the demand for such a type of service comprised the results of the survey which we conducted.

All this attests to the fact that the local Soviets have broad possibilities for carrying out the so-called institutional function—creating a wide network of new types of inter-sectorial, territorial, cost-accounting enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives, producing items for inter-sectorial use, and rendering dispatcher, advertising, scientific and technical services.

In addition to this, local Soviets could actively carry out various kinds of middle-man functions and functions of providing information.

For example, the oblispolkom has gathered information to the effect that all the construction organizations and plants production ZhBI have reinforced-concrete by-products which are not being utilized at present. But, of course, with the aid of special units—crushers—reinforced concrete can be turned into crushed rock. Enterprises of the Glinozem Association have entire hills of red slurry. If crushed rock and red slurry are mixed with asphalt, an excellent road-paving material is obtained. Asphalt, understandably, is in short supply, but asphalt production in the town of Kirishi is operating at only 40-50 percent.

Thus, we have red slurry in Boksitogorsk and Pikalevo, asphalt in Kirishi, and the by-products of reinforced concrete throughout the entire oblast. The problem is to put them all together in the proper "mix."

Such a task is only within the capability of a territorial economic-management organ.

The Leningrad Oblispolkom's Division for Comprehensive Economic and Social Development is carrying out a search for such variants and acts as a middle-man in implementing them. Thus, for example, with its help the transfer of sand by-products from the Fosforit Production Association to the Narva General-Construction Trust has begun. On the path to its solution the problem of installing crushers for transforming reinforced-concrete by-products into crushed rock.

Up to now, all these services and functions have been rendered free of charge. In the future, however, all this could be supplied on a cost-accounting basis. And, in general, the ispolkom has acted as an initiator, as an "institutor" of a certain state enterprise or cooperative; it has provided it with information about demand, pointed out potential partners, sources of financing, and raw materials—and has allowed it to earn an "institutional" profit. It has served as a middle-man in all sorts of deals, parts of which have been of interest to the ispolkom. Even simply as a good idea a proposal must be paid for. After all, they do not arise in a vacuum, but on the basis of collecting and analyzing information, of seeking out variants of an economic manoeuvre.

In such a way the ispolkoms of local Soviets can begin to earn money by themselves. Moreover, a portion of the funds earned must be channeled into the wage fund of the ispolkom's staff members.

Local Soviets are called upon not only to cover the "blank spots" on the map of economic ties. They must also assume a number of functions which are concentrated at the present time throughout all the "floors and cells" of the national economy.

What do we have in mind? Above all, the construction and operation of facilities belonging to the social and urban infrastructure, as well as environmental protection. In our opinion, these facilities, should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the local Soviets.

Of course, the country has cities and territories where the service of a single customer is functioning, where the entire housing fund is on the balance sheet of the ispolkoms, and where there are overall municipal and communal services. However, it is far from always and everywhere that genuine economic power belongs to the Soviets. Many of our cities remind one of patchwork quilts, divided, as they are, between enterprises for construction and operation. And so it turns out that in the town of Petrokrepost there are 15 boiler plants for 12,000 people.

As a result of the domination by departmentalism, municipal services and the engineering network have sharply declined. Every more or less severe winter remains one of this. Economic problems have become exacerbated.

Serious disproportions have been observed in the social sphere. The practice whereby each enterprise "drags out of its ministry as much as it can" has not led to anything good. Even in Leningrad Oblast, which is quite well-off in this regard, many discrepancies are to be observed. Thus, in Petrokrepost feels an acute shortage of places in its kindergartens, in Kirishi recently built kindergartens are being used to less than a third of their capacity.

Would it not be better to put the manpower and funds into one pair of hands? A territory should have a master, rather than "seven nannies," all meddling in each other's business.

A consultation of experts on these proposals was held in Leningrad Oblast. Some 67 percent of the enterprise managers and about 70 percent of the leading officials of the local Soviets expressed themselves in favor of turning over to the local Soviets all funds for the construction of housing and social, cultural, and everyday-service facilities, as well as the construction organizations engaged in non-production construction. (It is noteworthy that the attitude of the leading officials of construction organizations toward such a transfer is more positive than that of other groups of managers).

To a large extent, the same viewpoint is adhered to by the economic managers with regard to conducting environmental-protection measures.

And so, the local Soviets, the enterprises, and the builders are all "in favor." The main thing is to more rapidly implement the full rights of the Soviets in accordance with the positions taken at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

10

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